

**RUSSIA'S NEW  
HONY-BALONEY  
PEACE CAMPAIGN**  
—by Brian Crozier, p. 538

# NATIONAL REVIEW

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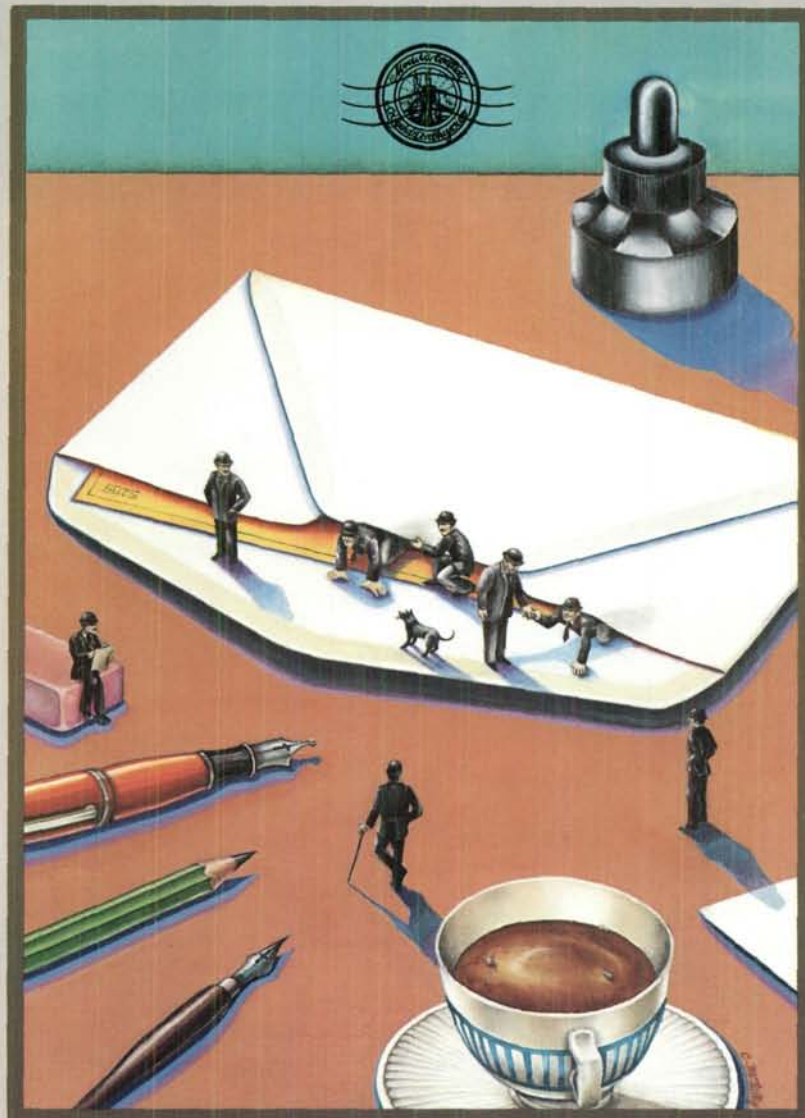
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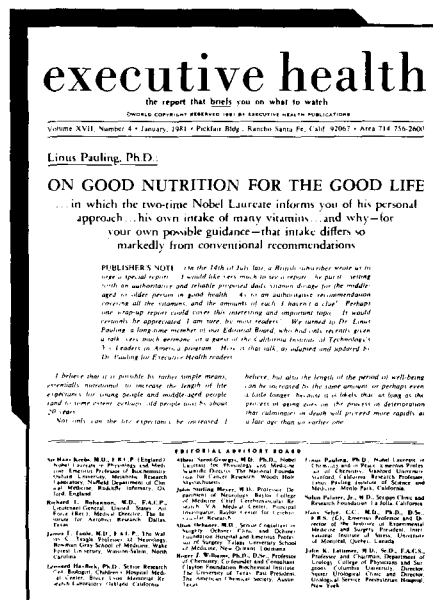
Denis P. Burkitt, M.D., D.Sc., F.R.C.S., F.R.S.: IS DIETARY FIBRE PROTECTIVE AGAINST DISEASE? The drop in our consumption of potatoes and whole grains may have something to do with the increase in intestinal cancer, diabetes and heart disease — to name a few!

Leonard Hayflick, Ph.D.: ON THE ROLE OF SLOW VIRUSES as the cause of neurological diseases . . . Mysterious deaths in New Guinea cannibals have revolutionized our concepts about virus diseases. Several neurological conditions that occur in middle age and beyond may be caused by viruses encountered in our youth that behave like biological time bombs.

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## Articles & Columns

### 540 Gun Control: Can It Work?

The literature on handgun prohibition, says a liberal criminologist, may not make a persuasive case against gun control, but it does convincingly demonstrate that many progressive and humane scholars detest firearms. Before we enact new gun-control laws, it might be wise to enforce the laws we already have. If the charges against John Hinckley had not been dropped, he would have been in a federal prison, not on the loose in Washington, D.C.

*Don B. Kates Jr.*

### 543 The Politics of Reindustrialization

The economy is ailing, and there is no shortage of quack cures, most of them aimed at evading the only real enemy. The latest nostrum is "reindustrialization"—i.e., a permanent national bailout policy for failing corporations. It would divert the nation's investment capital not to where it would do the most good but to where it would get the most votes.

*Bruce Bartlett*

### 552 Too Little but Not Too Late

Mrs. Thatcher is tied to the mast, but some of her ministers want to slip below decks. Lessons for folks over here.

*Anthony Lejeune*

### 556 Sea Change

Quick: What has a chain whose links weigh 365 pounds *each*? (Hint: Your country depends on it.)

*Richard Brookhiser*

### 557 A Few Days in Dresden

From war under Nazism to peace under Marxism: "the combined horrors of our century—senseless destruction and soulless reconstruction."

*Alistair Horne*

### 559 Natural Law and the Reagan Revolution

The Philadelphians gathered—in Chicago, of course—to celebrate the Lockean in the White House.

*Linda Bridges*

## Books Arts & Manners

**562** Henry Kissinger has had second thoughts about detente, having seen the notion acted on. His settled views are now available in *For the Record, Selected Statements 1977-1980*. Gerhart Niemeyer finds Kissinger's analysis of the struggle with Communism profound and practical. . . . Is Soviet Communism Marxist? Adam B. Ulam thinks it's rather more Russian; Francis B. Randall agrees. . . . Brigitte Berger applauds Claudio Véliz's explanation of why nobody understands Latin American politics. . . . Bernard Siegan accuses the Supreme Court of insufficient activism; Joseph Sobran, to his surprise, finds himself persuaded. . . . Alan L. Miller finds Daniel F. Feldman's *Reforming Government* "a series of whimpers in search of a bang." . . . Les Maîtres Cuisiniers de France hit these shores nibbling, as Nika Hazelton recounts. . . . John Keefauver reports on the Littlefingers' orgy.

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Cover cartoon by Mal; cover design by James W. O'Bryan



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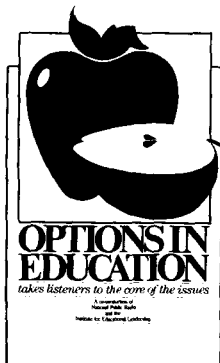
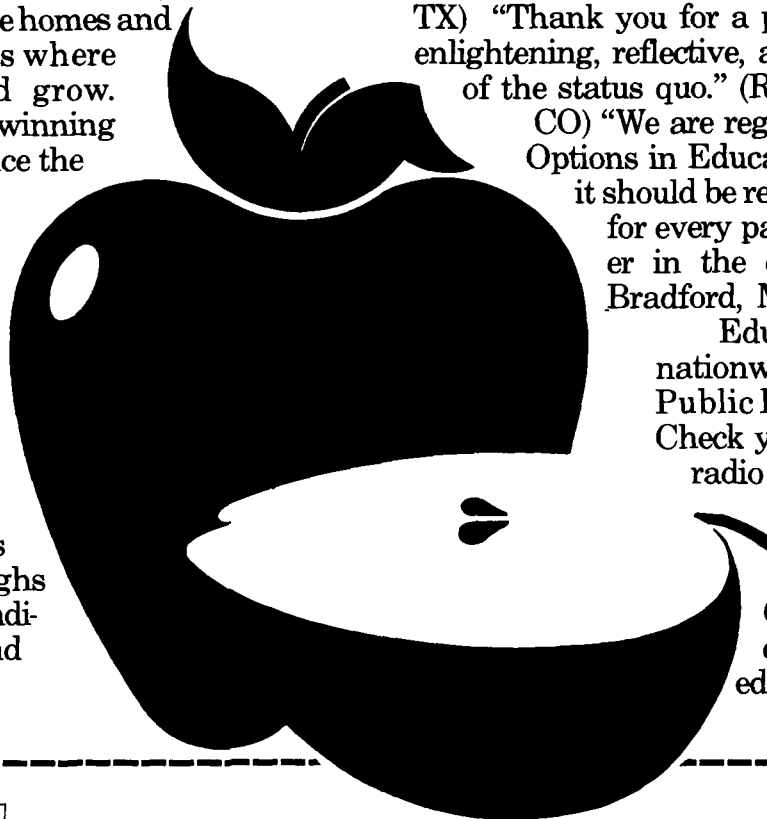
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# Letters

## Through Other Eyes

Dmitry Mikheyev has written a fascinating sketch of the quotidian life of the Soviet people ["The Soviet Union: Might It Collapse?" May 1]. It is strange to realize that, just as many Americans cannot imagine life in a totalitarian state, those living in the Soviet Union cannot imagine life in the West. But then, we consider Orwell a genius because he was able to envision a reality other than his own.

Michael Blane  
 Baltimore, Md.

## The Post Protests

Re: "TMI + 2" ["The Week," April 3]: In looking through your files to refresh your memory on how the newspapers treated the Three Mile Island accident two years ago you found and quoted two headlines from the *New York Post* which suited your purpose: RACE WITH NUCLEAR DISASTER and NUKE CLOUD SPREADING. At the same time, you ignored several *New York Post* editorials which would have spoiled your point.

A full-length editorial on March 30, two days after the accident, reviewed what had happened, called for the fullest public inquiry, and after specifically pointing out the small level of radiation exposure made these points: "Harrisburg must not become the scapegoat for rejecting the future." "... Public acceptance of nuclear power depends above all on confidence in the government's guarantee that the plants are safe. But let us not turn Harrisburg into a witch hunt against nuclear technology."

A second full-length editorial, on April 4, made the point that neither the United States nor Europe and Japan could reject the future, and concluded: "We must proceed with prudence to secure it: but we must proceed."

The *New York Post* also reviewed the Kemeny Commission report and in an editorial on November 2, 1979 reproduced several key quotations from the report on the low level of radiation doses, the likely minimal overall health effects, and the calculations showing that even if a meltdown had occurred there was a high probability that the containment building would have prevented the escape of a large amount of radioactivity.

Bruce Rothwell  
 Editorial Page Editor  
 New York Post  
 New York, N.Y.

*The Post's editorial writers are to be congratulated. Maybe they can have a chat with the headline writers so that, next*

*time something goes wrong at a nuclear power plant, sensationalistic absurdities such as NUKE CLOUD SPREADING (cloud of what? the Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Resources reported "ten times more fallout in the air after the last Red Chinese bomb test") will not be splashed over the Post's front page, in sixty-point type.*

—RB

## Wealth and Religion

Mr. Irving Kristol writes in your April 17 Symposium that George Gilder "seems to lack a religious sense." This is a correct and incisive criticism, although Mr. Gilder takes pains throughout his impressive volume to construct a religious credibility.

For example, on pages 24 and 25 of *Wealth and Poverty* he identifies investments in capitalist enterprises with the gifts that are commended by religion on the grounds that in both cases the "returns" are unknown. The identification is grotesque, as any investor and most givers will recognize by their personal motivations. But it is also central to Gilder's efforts to confer a color of altruism on supply-side economics—to sacramentalize self-interest, even greed.

To put the problem differently, Gilder and most of those in charge of U.S. politics today not only endorse the classical liberal error of treating economics as if it were the governing (only?) measure of the political order; they do so in a way that makes war against the development of virtue as the goal of the public life. Christianity's first rules of social, as well as interior, conduct are self-denial and sacrifice. In Gilder's world they must compete not only with human weakness, but with the apotheosis of making a buck.

In his final chapter, Gilder insists on "the necessity for faith" for practitioners of his system. But this is not faith in a purposeful God, but in "chance," somehow propelled by a "higher consciousness" which is "the ulterior stuff of the cosmos." Well, every man to his own cosmology. The trouble for the rest of us comes when such speculations are used to discourage a conscious effort to achieve the common good—or social justice, as we say nowadays—as mandated by true religion.

Brent Bozell  
 McLean, Va.

## Tax-Free Foreign Labor

The primary difference between illegal foreign workers and the unemployed American poor is not quite what Mr. Alexander T. Jordan claims in his article, "The JFK Express" [April 17].

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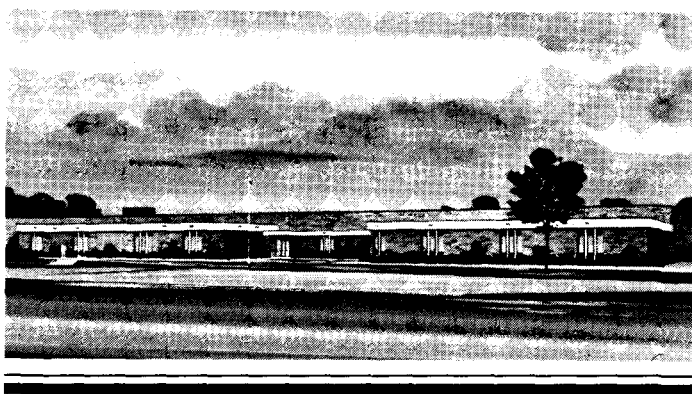
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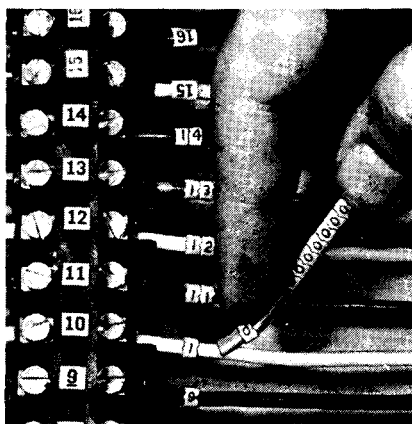
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If a so-called impoverished American gets a job, he has to pay Social Security, federal, state, and local taxes, and possibly union dues and other deductions. His employer is also obligated to make similar Social Security payments and provide certain employer-paid statutory benefits and possibly union benefits. An illegal foreign worker merely gets paid for the work he is doing, probably at a piece-work rate. He does not pay any taxes, and his employer does not pay any benefits for him.

It is obviously more economical for an employer to employ a worker for whom he does not provide Social Security, state unemployment insurance, federal unemployment insurance, disability benefits insurance, workmen's compensation insurance, and liability and perhaps other social and union benefits. These benefits are costly, and their elimination will greatly reduce the cost of labor, undoubtedly most desirable for an unscrupulous employer.

Illegal foreign labor is presenting a major problem to the construction- and needle-trades unions. Union labor or union contractors cannot compete with illegal foreign labor and their unprincipled employers.

Illegal foreign workers, non-tax-paying workers, are literally taking bread out of the mouths of American workers. Why should an employer pay a union painter \$420 per week plus substantial fringe benefits, when he can hire a non-union foreigner for as little as \$30 per day with no fringe benefits?

V. Young  
Bronx, N. Y.

## Help for the Siberian Seven

NATIONAL REVIEW deserves special appreciation for keeping in focus the case of the Soviet Pentecostal refugees, the Siberian Seven, who will complete on June 27 their third year in a small, overcrowded basement room in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow ["Waiting for Mr. Reagan," April 3]. They have been trying to emigrate from the USSR for almost twenty years. U.S. secular and religious media have not adequately publicized the plight of these courageous people, who are symbolic of some fifty thousand Soviet Christians wishing to emigrate because of religious persecution. We hope President Reagan will support bill S-312, introduced by Senator Carl Levin and co-sponsored by 54 other senators: if enacted, the bill will grant the Siberian Seven permanent residence status, protect them from eviction, and improve their general condition.

In his three excellent articles, Kevin Lynch described in depth the ordeal of the Siberian Seven as victims of the Soviet system, and, at the same time, he exposed the sheer lack of understanding and compassion—one might even say cynicism—displayed by some U.S. bu-

reaucrats in the Moscow U.S. Embassy and the Department of State in Washington. It seems that the main concern of some U.S. officials was to persuade the Seven to return to their home town in Siberia; they have shown no interest in the fate of the Seven after they fall into the hands of the KGB.

As an example of the tender mercies of the KGB, on February 9 the Seven watched in horror as the KGB men guarding the U.S. Embassy beat to death a Soviet citizen whom they had seized on the Embassy grounds. Ever since, the Seven have lived in fear that the same fate may befall them if they venture out for a walk in the Embassy compound.

It is highly probable that bill S-312, characterized as a landmark in U.S. legislation, may also help persuade Brezhnev to release the Seven and their families from Soviet bondage. Letters in support of the Seven should be addressed to President Reagan, Secretary of State Alexander Haig, Senator Charles Percy, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and other legislators.

Rev. & Mrs. Blahoslav Hruby  
Editors

RCDA—Religion in Communist-  
Dominated Areas  
New York, N.Y.

### Anti-Abortion Statute

In a recent editorial ["Delay on Abortion?" April 17], NATIONAL REVIEW defended the decision by Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker to delay the Senate vote on an anti-abortion statute. I disagree.

The editorial compared this decision to Lincoln's decision to postpone action on anti-slavery legislation until after the Civil War. But slavery, however evil, does not involve the actual taking of human life. Abortion does.

The longer the Senate postpones voting on the statute, the closer the scheduled vote will be to the 1982 elections. The closer the elections are, the less willing the Senate Republicans will be to deal with the abortion issue at all. The Senate should vote on this statute immediately.

Jerry Crosson  
Centerport, N.Y.

### Toogood Dicta

As a retired English professor, I couldn't help noticing that John Keefauver opened his "Emergency Word Service" [Mar. 20] with a sentence beginning, "As an English teacher, I couldn't help but notice . . ." In my copy of one of the books that he stowed in his "wordmobile," Strunk and White list the "not help but" construction under "Misused Words and Expressions" and describe the "but" as "unnecessary." Their "unnecessary" is weak-kneed protest against the likes of such dubious authorities as Webster's New World Dic-

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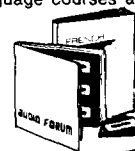
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tionary, where, under the entry for "help," the construction is countenanced and glossed as "cannot fail to." Keefauver, Strunk and White, and the dictionary editors, unfortunately, never had an English teacher like Miss Mildred Toogood (such was truly and appropriately her name), who impressed on me and other Lansing Eastern High School sophomores in 1931 that "not help but" was an absolute no-no—a double negative. *O tempora, o mores, o consuetudo vitiosa et corrupta!*

Warren Fleischauer  
Mecosta, Mich.

I loved "Emergency Word Service." As one who winces upon hearing an infinitive split or someone say, "Everybody has to do their own part," I shall gladly volunteer to help John Keefauver when he opens an office and offers his services. I will be there to help and aid him when he becomes tired, overworked, and overburdened, and stumbles and says: "I know it's him" instead of "I know it is he."

Vivien H. Larson  
Concord, Calif.

### Many Tuskegees

I write with reluctance, having often enjoyed Aram Bakshian's articles in *The American Spectator*, and not wishing to appear mean-spirited, to object to his

singling out of Tuskegee as a target for charity. He recommends *tiething*, no less ["God and Man at Tuskegee," Mar. 20].

Tuskegee, however deserving, is not more so than hundreds of venerable private ventures in higher education, colleges and universities with humble origins and distinguished histories—and uncertain futures. Here at Hiram, for example, we still take inspiration from our heritage as an avenue of upward mobility for the "rough, crude, and untutored farmer boys and girls" who have been coming here since 1850 "to try themselves, and find out what manner of people they were." That is the characterization, not of a curmudgeon, but of James A. Garfield, Hiram student, professor, and president, whose decidedly underprivileged youth did not prevent him from rising to eminence as educator, Civil War general, and statesman. This year we celebrate the centenary of his service as President of the United States.

Kenneth Kolson  
Hiram, Ohio

### Hiroshima

With regard to your remarks on Pope John Paul II at Hiroshima ["The Week," Mar. 20]. Yes, there happen to be a lot of pampered young Marxoid fluffheads running around American campuses masquer-

ading as pacifists. Does that mean conservatives have to be jingos? Even if the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the *only* way Truman could avoid a bloody invasion of Japan (a tenuous assumption), does the end justify the means?

The slaughter by saturation bombing of civilian populations by the United States (in Europe as well as Japan) was, by all traditional standards of the ethics of warfare, immoral. And the policy of threatening retaliatory destruction of Russian cities is also immoral. Once again, the end (keeping the world free from totalitarian Communism—a good end if ever there was one) does not justify the immoral means. And one doesn't have to be a Communist or a pacifist to say so.

William G. White, MD  
Franklin Park, Ill.

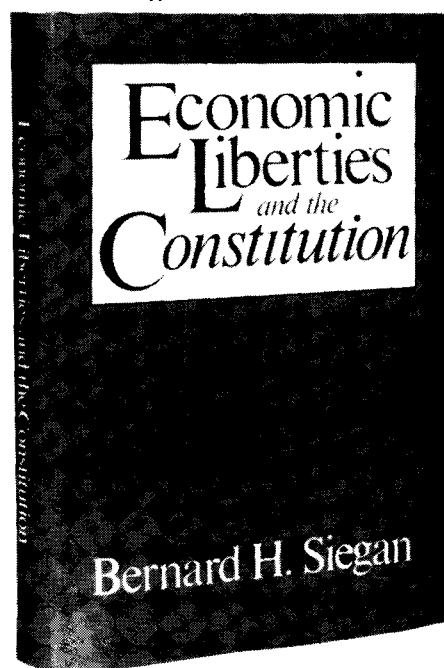
### Government vs. Day Care

Your concept of "The Hive" ["The Week," April 3] is absolutely brilliant, and just the conceptual tool that was needed to describe the presence of an influence, a style, a mood, rather than a conscious conspiracy.

But while you are dealing with "The Hive" you must be careful not to imitate it, by using one of its most common devices: setting up false alternatives ("Stop nuclear power before it stops you"). One

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The result has been to give governments at all levels much greater power over the economic system and to harm society by inhibiting production, raising prices, curtailing competition and creating unemployment. Those most often harmed, concludes Siegan, are those who were supposed to be protected—people on the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

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false alternative, presented by Jane Larkin Crain, is either full-time motherhood or government-funded day care ["Growing Up Absurd," April 3]. How about the third, and best, alternative, of having the government stay away from day care, where unreasonable regulations are concerned?

Take just one example: at Sandra Borchart's delightful Children's House of Montessori in Glenview, Illinois, the children were not allowed to stay more than three hours a day, largely because her immaculate, dollhouse kitchen did not include a stainless-steel sink. As a working mother I can assure you that the government is no friend of day care!

Jacquelyn Rose  
Port Chester, N.Y.

### Apology/Rejoinder

I apologize to all music fans for the mistaken age in *NR*'s Karl Richter obit [see Mr. David Wilson's letter to the editor, "Letters," May 1]. I misheard his birthdate in the announcement of his death on my local radio station, and the liner notes on my records gave no biographical information. Richter's white hair, which I saw during his last New York concert, also deceived me. (Did he use John Anderson's hair tonic?)

Mr. Wilson's theology is of course nonsense. "The damp souls of a thousand housemaids" indeed. As it happens, I had C. S. Lewis in mind, not Chesterton: "The dullest and most uninteresting person you talk to may one day be a creature which, if you saw it now, you would be strongly tempted to worship, or else a horror and a corruption such as you now meet, if at all, only in a nightmare. Nations, cultures, arts, civilization—these are mortal, and their life is to ours as the life of a gnat. But it is immortals whom we joke with, work with, marry, snub, and exploit—immortal horrors or everlasting splendors." I'm sure Chesterton (and Bach) would have agreed.

Richard Brookhiser  
New York, N.Y.

### That Other Thrace

I am astonished at how provincial James Jackson Kilpatrick is—he doubts that J. Gordon Coogler was a hero of Southern letters ["The Week," Feb. 20]—but then Jack was angry at Reagan for calling him Jimmy; so, it figures.

Why, I can remember when I was a boy Coogler was a household name south of the Ohio—I can see in my mind's eye now graffiti on schoolhouses and STOP signs on my way to the general store: COOGLER STINKS. Remember? Why the man was in such exalted company as Frances Hodgson Burnett (raised in Knoxville, Tennessee), who gave us such classics as *Little Lord Fauntleroy*. Then there was ole Sidney Lanier, John Fox Jr. (*Trail of*

*the Lonesome Pine*), then T. S. Stribling, Gene Stratton Porter, and Alf & Bob Taylor, brothers, and governors of Tennessee who fell from grace and took up literature—and now we have Jimmy Carter to pick up the torch.

I am on my way home now—tonight I will while away the long evening with twenty volumes (folio) of J. Gordon Coogler, all of it tear-stained and dog-eared.

Those STOP signs in the South of my youth that had Coogler's name on them—all were bullet-riddled—way'll yais, those were my bullets—a small enough honor to such a man—but you have him enshrined forever.

Charles Wallen Jr.  
Millbrae, Calif.

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# FOR THE RECORD

■ The numbers game: Even before **Ronald Reagan** spoke to both Houses of Congress, the nose-counters had found thirty Democrats unhappy with the **Jim Jones**-Democratic budget. (Jones was not helped at all, at all, when **Tip O'Neill** returned from the Easter break to announce that the word out there is "support the President.") . . . In addition there are 63 liberal Democratic congressmen, sometime hodcarriers for Jones, who come from conservative districts, and some of them are now moving Gramm-Lottwards. . . . **Evans & Novak** believe that not only will the President-approved **Gramm-Lotta** bipartisan budget pass, but that Reagan will also get a couple of bonanzas he didn't ask for in his tax-cut package: a drop in the top tax rate on "unearned income" from 70 to 50 per cent and a drop in the effective capital-gains rate from 28 to 15 per cent. . . . Mid-April polls — **Richard Wirthlin**, AP-NBC, *Washington Post-ABC*, *Los Angeles Times* — show Reagan's approval rating sharply up, to between 73 and 83 per cent. The *Times* poll also indicates greater comprehension of the supply-side marginal-tax-cut argument; 45 per cent now believe a tax cut will "get America moving again," a gain of 12 points over a month earlier. . . . Other polls: **U.S. Chamber** finds 70 to 25 per cent majority approving a reduction in the tax on unearned income; **Harris** finds 65 to 31 majority favoring reduction in capital-gains rate. . . . Can't keep a good man down. When Reagan was asked during phone call to annual White House Correspondents' Association Dinner where General **Haig** was, he replied: "I don't know where he is, but wherever he is I have confidence in him."

■ Who are the most vulnerable Dem-



Jon, *London Daily Mail*

Rothco

"Ever thought of defecting to the Social Democratic Party, dear?"

ocratic senators? Sen. **Bob Packwood**, chairman of the GOP Senate Campaign Committee, picks Sens. **Mitchell** (Me.), **Williams** (N.J.), **Sarbanes** (Md.), **Metzenbaum** (Ohio), **Riegle** (Mich.), **Sasser** (Tenn.). Packwood sees three- to ten-seat gain for the GOP in the Senate. . . . Sarbanes is certainly vulnerable. Recent Maryland poll shows him leading conservative Republican Rep. **Marjorie Holt** by only 43 to 37 per cent. **Russell Hemenway** of the liberal National Committee for an Effective Congress admits his polls show the same thing: "Obviously Sarbanes is vulnerable." But Hemenway and his NCEC see some hope. "We think the [Reagan] budget cuts are rebuilding the liberal constituency we lost in 1980." And he too has a hit list for 1982: GOP Sens. **Hayakawa** (Calif.), **Roth** (Del.), **Schmitt** (N.M.),

**Hatch** (Utah), and **Wallop** (Wyo.), plus 21 members of the **Conservative (Redneck) Democratic Forum** in the House. . . . Other electoral news: **Barry Goldwater Jr.** has made it official: he will run for Hayakawa's seat. . . . Sen. Harrison Williams's Abscam troubles are making his seat even more appealing. **Jeff Bell** is raising money, building an organization, should announce in January (Bell beat **Clifford Case** in the 1976 primary). The other leading GOP possibility is moderate Rep. **Matt Rinaldo**, who is playing his cards very close to his chest so far.

■ Bad Guys, Good Guys: **Patricia Derian**, **Jimmy Carter's** Human Rights spokesman at State, has joined Institute for Policy Studies, gives a course in human rights. . . . Former Sen. **Edward Brooke** (R., Mass.) heads a lobby to protest cuts in the poverty agencies, an effort funded by endangered poverty-agency bureaucrats. . . . Rep. **William Clay** (D., Mo.) has put his finger on it in Op-Ed piece for *Philadelphia Tribune*: "Stripped of all façade, the new majority is the new fascism on the horizon." . . . On the flip side: Professor **Richard (Dixie) Walker** of the U. of South Carolina, Asia scholar and *NR* contributor, will go to Seoul as U.S. Ambassador. . . . Author **Midge Decter** (*Liberal Parents*, *Radical Children*) has been named a trustee of Washington-based Heritage Foundation.

■ FAA inspectors got short shrift from golf pro **Mark Hopkins** when they complained that golfers didn't watch out for Air Force pilots landing at Rexford, Idaho base. Retorted Hopkins: "Sometimes those guys [pilots] are only 10 to 12 feet off the ground. They can really disrupt your concentration."

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# THE WEEK

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■ Boy, what a week. Evangeline Gouletas—not her real name—has been obliged to resign her position as an endangered species and to return the prestigious New York State. This grew out of the revelation by Vassar College that Benjamin Bradlee—not her real name—never established any credentials at that institution for bugging the office of the new superintendent of schools in Chicago, Madalyn Murray O'Hair—not his real name, nor is he bald. O'Hair heatedly denied being prayed to by her third husband, Janet Cooke—not her real name—but the Pulitzer Prize for snail darters had to be withdrawn and re-awarded to Reed Irvine. Bradlee's fourth wife, whose existence was not even suspected, reappeared suddenly in California, professing to be an eight-year-old heroin addict, who in turn confessed that he had not bugged the school super's offices in Chicago. Cooke finally admitted having a fifth husband, but not before claiming to be Deep Throat. Fortunately, the week ended peacefully when Carey's sixth and seventh wives were devoured by the Tellico Dam. Hope we got all this straight. And that's the way it was this week.

■ Yes, but is that the way it is? One night it's all over *CBS News*. The FBI has uncovered evidence to prove that six Salvadoran national guardsmen killed four American women in El Salvador last December. It's hard evidence, "more than fingerprints." The evidence has been forwarded to the government of El Salvador, and it is hinted that the State Department is leaning on President Duarte to do something about it. Salvadoran Defense Minister José Guillermo García immediately calls a press conference and denies the Salvadoran government has received any such evidence. But what do you expect; after all it was García's forces that committed the atrocity, wasn't it? But then *the FBI* denies it. Our evidence, said FBI spokesman Roger Young, "is not conclusive in terms of identifying the individual, the individuals, or the group responsible." So where are we? Let's see what CBS says. But CBS is mute. That particular story has vanished down the Memory Hole. Which may be why Gallup finds that 61 per cent of the American people believe "very little" of the "news" they see, read, or hear.

■ George Gilder again. He tells us he thinks the President's speech "was a tremendous breakthrough in the history of American tax policy," *but*. The catch is

that it really isn't necessary to match tax-rate cuts with spending cuts. The tax cuts can and should out-run the spending cuts; and Gilder points out that Kemp-Roth is no longer the advance position: House Democrats are now willing to cut top rates from 70 to 50 per cent—and Republicans should grab that offer quick. Why? Because it will instantly vindicate all supply-side claims. Apart from long-term benefits that flow from tax cuts generally, a big cut in the \$60,000 to \$250,000 income range will immediately summon forth the wealth that is currently hiding in tax shelters. A related point was recently made in these pages by Tom Bethell (April 3): contrary to the assumptions behind macroeconomic models, money is not "fungible." The money of the rich is very different from yours and mine, qualitatively speaking. In tax shelters it pays us nothing. In the economy it generates more wealth and pays taxes. Maybe the Democrats have been reading *Wealth and Poverty*.

■ Congressman Jim Jones (D., Okla.), chairman of the House Budget Committee, was planning to reshape the President's budget and tax proposals. For a while he was so sure of himself as to provoke the *Washington Star* into an editorial accusing him of thinking he is President. Toward the end of March he received a letter from Terry Dolan, Chairman of the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), informing him that NCPAC intended to defeat anyone who obstructed passage of the President's economic package. By Easter recess, in speech after speech in his district, Jones was minimizing his differences with President Reagan. But the flak kept coming. At a meeting with the Harvard Club in Tulsa on April 22, he was asked point-blank: "Mr. Jones, do you really think you are honestly representing this district?" The *Daily Oklahoman* editorialized against him for "ignoring the mandate," and the *Tulsa Tribune* ran a cartoon showing Jim Jones resembling Ted Kennedy and unveiling a budget with a caption

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## Governor Carey Miscalculates

When Edward VIII played polo,  
Grass widows were a no-no.  
Though in the interim, it's  
True, *nothing* seems off-limits,  
There still are prohibitions  
Applied to politicians.  
For once they're laughing at you;  
Forget about that statue.  
And I add, being old-school,  
There's no fool like an old fool.

W. H. VON DREELE

## LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Ronald Reagan baffles Washington. This bafflement has not yet been more evident than in the reaction to his April 28 speech before Congress. Reagan is artless: he says that what makes America great is that it can dream new dreams. He believes this, and he lives it. The belief gives him an ingenuousness that, despite his age, makes him look and act like what he palpably is, the *aeternus puer*. So rooted is he in this belief that America can strike out in wholly new directions—so totally present to him is it—that he is made resilient and tough and possessed of a driving force. All of which serves to confound the Washington establishment. Washington feeds on, and breeds, manipulation and cynicism. Reagan confronts old Washington, and rejects it. Why, if Ronnie keeps this up, he may even redeem this city, save it from itself, convert the truculent apparatchiks, encrusted in their ways, into risk-takers, make patriots out of cynics. It is really quite a show, these massive and secret conversions now taking place.

■ Whoever got the idea of linking the prevailing national affection for Reagan, deriving from the shooting trauma, to the economic message, and thereby propelling the package through the Congress, deserves a margarita toast next Thursday (the one day of the week hard spirits—and only in this form—are served) in the White House mess. But the dunce who thought of announcing the AWACS decision on April 12 should be stripped of White House mess, parking, tennis, and all other

privileges, and be made to read Anthony Lewis for thirty successive days. That's for openers.

What observers are pointing to is the timing of the announcement, not the substance of it. To have made the decision public from the White House press room (rather than State) was both ham-handed and amateurish, regardless of whether the press was insisting on the knowledge, or whether the Saudis wanted it made public. With the Israeli election coming up, Mehaem Begin and Shimon Peres had no choice but to denounce the sale vehemently, for reasons of political survival if nothing else.

An analogous diplomatic error was made by Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State Designate for African Affairs, who visited Johannesburg on the eve of the election. Understandably, Prime Minister Pieter Botha gave Crocker a wide berth. The U.S./South African relationship is a torrid political potato among Afrikaners who think that Botha's reformist politics have been too much instigated by an anti-apartheid U.S.A. So the diplomacy-watchers in Washington are wondering when Reagan is going to get his foreign-policy act together.

To his credit, Howard Baker seems to have successfully back-burnered the AWACS issue by his strong recommendation to the President to postpone the sale until Congress has reviewed it over the summer. Factitious or not, the Baker ploy has probably worked, and Baker once again showed that he is a reliable and able GOP foot soldier.

■ Alexander Haig's star, alas, continues in declension. The AWACS an-

nouncement was a defeat for him—he had rightly argued for delay so that the allies could be consulted, and he had voiced annoyance at Defense's having pushed the deal separately. The grain embargo was lifted, and Al had been opposed to that. Thirdly, when Haig announced that a total U.S. trade embargo would be put into place should the Soviets invade Poland, the White House stated that that was one option, but the President was keeping all options open. Haig does not have the whip hand in making foreign policy. The White House troika—Meese, Baker, Allen—won't give it to him. To many observers, this bodes ill.

■ Washington nugacities. Rita Jenrette attended the White House Correspondents' dinner (or, as Ronald Reagan described it over the phone to the audience assembled, their "spring prom") and was listed in the program as "author," which surely does scant justice to the fullness of her gifts and skills. . . . Senator Strom Thurmond addressed a press conference held for national victims of crime. He grimly cited the horrid decline in law and order, and called for less softness in dealing with criminals. Further, he declared that he favored the death sentence for *hitchhikers*. Whereupon even the most hard right of this conservative group sat bolt upright, as though they themselves had received an electrical charge. Gawd! Does Strom know something about hitchhikers that we don't know? A conservative tide is sweeping the nation, yes, but a typhoon? Then, mercifully, Strom set it straight. Not hitchhikers, he clarified. Hijackers. Whew. —CATO

reading: "Fewer tanks, more food stamps." On April 27 Jim Jones's ally, House Speaker Tip O'Neill, allowed as how the message Congress was getting was to support the President. The next day "a White House strategist" woke up from a long sleep and conceded to the *New York Times* (front page) "that the Administration would eventually have to accept significant compromise in the tax area." Say it again, Tip, for the White House strategist who slept through it the first time.

■ Department of Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis and his Carter holdovers fielded a team determined to win auto-import quotas on Japanese cars. But after some hard tackles by Treasury, CEA, OMB, Milton

Friedman, and the *Wall Street Journal*, Secretary Lewis decided that pushing protection on the free-trade Administration wasn't a winning position and palmed the issue off on Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige, who seems determined to enjoy the same drubbing DOT experienced—only now the argument is phrased in terms of voluntary Japanese restrictions on exports rather than on negotiated quotas. Shielded by these euphemisms, Ford Motor Company Chairman Philip Caldwell is egging on Secretary Baldrige. Caldwell claims that Ford will restrain prices and limit the pace of Japanese export of cars to the United States. But he has the economics reversed. Restricting imports would simply restrict the supply of Japanese cars relative to the demand, raising the price. The

higher price of Japanese cars would make it easier for Ford to raise its own prices. Ford also claims that if they are to earn profits, domestic auto producers must have a greater share of the U.S. market. But Ford wants protection, not competition, to give them that larger market. In the meantime the anti-quota team has been further strengthened by the arrival of Bill Niskanen on the Council of Economic Advisors. Niskanen was fired from the chief-economist slot at Ford Motor Company—for opposing import quotas.

■ Two years from now, according to estimates by the Office of Management and Budget, the Old Age Survivors' Insurance (OASI) trust fund of Social Security will be fully depleted. By 2005, when the baby-boom generation starts to retire (using the intermediate assumptions of the Social Security Administration), the OASI shortfall will be \$642 billion—and it will climb to \$2 trillion. Stanford University economist Michael Boskin, at the request of the National Federation of Independent Business, examined the hemorrhaging system and offered some recommendations. In addition to serious funding problems Boskin notes that Congress has enlarged the mission of Social Security. While once it was only required to provide retirement annuities, it now is being asked to take on a variety of "social adequacy" programs. Neither objective, Boskin says, can be fully realized under the one program. Those grappling with the "immense problems" of the Social Security system, he concludes, should seriously consider "separating the dual functions of Social Security and . . . financing them separately." For further information, write NFIB, 150 West 20th Avenue, San Mateo, California 94403.

■ Come 1982 Ohio voters will get their opportunity to play throw-the-liberal-out. Senator Howard Metzenbaum is seeking his second term as the voice of knee-jerk liberalism. With a voting record that only an ADA member could love, the Democratic Metzenbaum has no shortage of Republican challengers. The two biggest contenders are from the heavyweight division of the Ohio GOP—Governor James Rhodes and Representative John Ashbrook. Rhodes is close to being a folk hero in Ohio, but he will be 73 in 1982. As William Rusher noted in his syndicated column, it would take him quite a while to build his seniority in the Senate to a point that would permit him to cut the swath there that he is accustomed to cutting in Ohio. Ashbrook is twenty years younger than Rhodes, and he has one other thing going for him—a voting record that makes ADA members weep.

■ Justice William H. Rehnquist has thunderously excoriated his Supreme Court colleagues for countenancing endless delays in death-sentence cases, the result

of which is to make "the existence of the death penalty in this country . . . virtually an illusion." The particular case in this instance involved Wayne Carl Coleman, convicted eight years ago of murdering six members of one family, after raping and torturing the victims of his choice. Since that time Coleman has been filing appeals and habeas-corpus petitions, and, Rehnquist said, he can probably go on doing so indefinitely, in a way that "parallels the equity practices described in Charles Dickens's *Bleak House*." Rehnquist's denunciation is a powerful first move in the public fight to stop the courtroom manipulators who have "undermined the integrity of the entire justice system," and made a mockery of self-rule. Democracy means the people's representatives define crime and stipulate the punishment.

■ One is always reluctant to criticize the Rock of Gibraltar, but Senator Jesse Helms's Agriculture Committee has been voting in a rather peculiar way on some matters such as tobacco and (most recently) dairy price supports. We refer the senior senator from North Carolina to chapter 16 of *Economics in One Lesson* (in case Senator East has borrowed his copy, we quote the relevant passages): "Attempts to lift the prices of particular commodities permanently above their natural market levels have failed often, disastrously, and notoriously. . . . To give farmers money for restricting production, or to give them the same amount of money for an artificially restricted production, is no different from forcing consumers or taxpayers to pay people for doing nothing at all. . . . If an attempt is made to keep up the price of an agricultural commodity and no artificial restriction of output is imposed, unsold surpluses continue to pile up until the market finally collapses to a far greater extent than if the control program had never been put into effect. . . . The plan that started out . . . to 'stabilize' prices brings incomparably greater instability."

■ The Administration's pat on the Soviet back for alleged mildness toward Poland—part of the rationalization for lifting the U.S. grain embargo—coincided with Mikhail Suslov's surprise visit to Warsaw. The Politburo's 78-year-old expert on Marxist-Leninist dogma was there to reprove the local Communist gentry for failure to toe the doctrinal line. Friction bordering on animosity was hinted in the resulting communiqué, and the Kremlin's news service tagged the Polish Communist Party leadership with "revisionism" and "anti-scientific attitudes"—terms reminiscent of what was said about Leon Trotsky when he was cast into outer darkness. If words could resolve the Soviets' present dilemma, those words should about do it—but the Warsaw leadership cadre may have passed the point of no return in temporizing with dissent. The

## Mr. Haig, Off the Record

With a wink and a whistle at Chile  
And a hiss for the likes of Hanoi,  
Mr. Haig has made foreign relations  
Entertainment that I can enjoy.  
Not since Dulles and Ike were in tandem  
Have I savored developing trends.  
What a thrill to give enemies nothing  
And a leg-up to languishing friends.

W. H. VON DREELE

danger that the contamination will spread from Poland through the whole Communist imperium even to the Soviet homeland is obvious. Yet the dynamics inherent in interposing the Soviet army in Poland are daunting. The venture would probably require a reinvigoration of unequivocal Stalinist methods. Whether the Kremlin gerontocracy would be up to the task in terms of energy is a question. Politburo members' ages run between 66 and 78. Rejuvenating the Politburo by tapping the Central Committee—itsself now averaging in the high sixties—is not a promising possibility. Thanks to mandatory retirement, the military high command is comparatively youthful. Old men may well be reluctant to call out their juniors to take charge of a military solution.

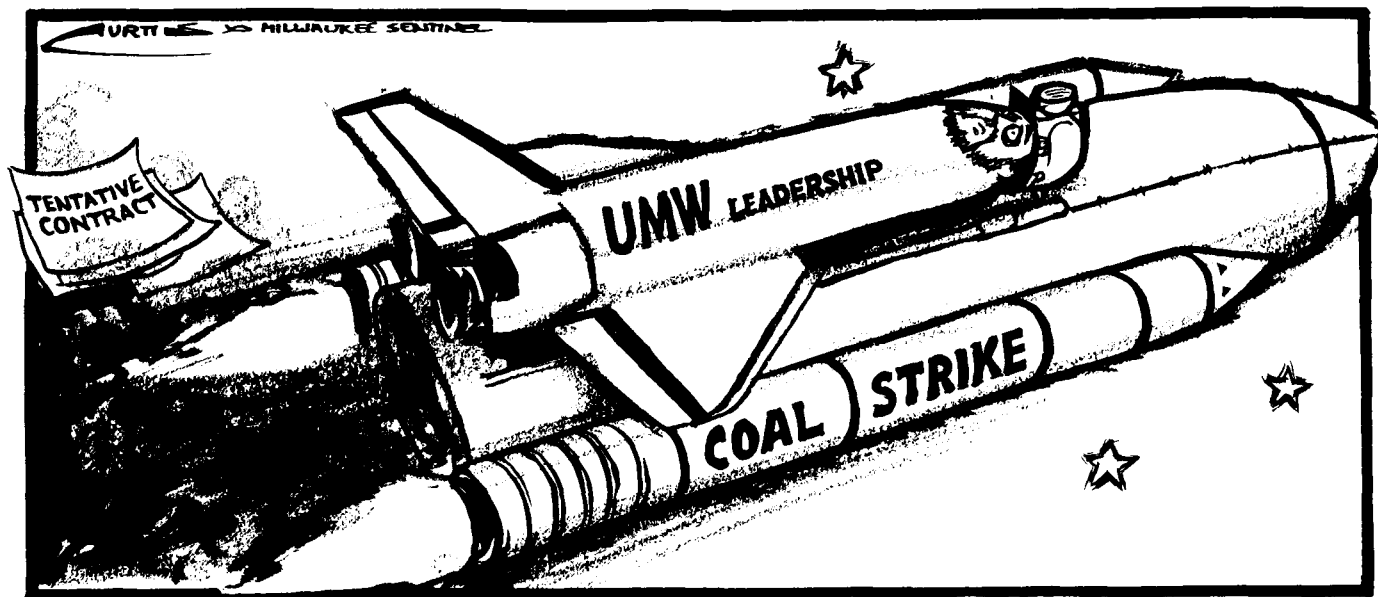
■ Oh to be in Kabul now that April's here. An Indian correspondent for the Communist *Daily World* was; and he accosted a Man in the Street, well-to-do hide and skin merchant Mohammad Sharif, and put it to him: "Do you think Babrak Karmal [the Soviet puppet] has any political base in Afghanistan?" Sharif

gave it to him right back, straight. "Look, Babrak Karmal was fighting the hated monarchy when many people, with whom they (West) are in love, were not heard of. We Afghans know his contribution to our national life. For the first time we have a leader who is kind in heart, so liberal in his approach to the problems we face." Just then "many university boys and girls, laughing, chatting, cross the road. Looking at their bright faces, one can so easily discern the bright future that awaits this land of brave, invincible people." The story runs under the headline: "Morning Prayers Start the Day in Kabul."

■ BRIEF LIVES DEPT.: For most of his forty years Juri Kukk was a respected member of what passes for polite society in Estonia—an academician and member of the Communist Party. But five years ago he spent a year studying in France, which profoundly changed his life. Immediately upon his return he removed his name from the rolls of the Communist Party and began attaching it to numerous human-rights appeals, which he would then relay to Western journalists. His first arrest came in January 1980, as he was leaving the car of a Western journalist in Moscow. The second came a couple of months later, on the charge of "spreading fabrications slandering the Soviet system" (translation: talking to Western journalists). He was convicted this January. On March 27, his wife received a telegram informing her that her husband had died and that he would be buried in the Soviet Union.

■ In Vietnam, the People's Revolutionary Government has banned the books of the literary Gang of Three: Jean-Paul Sartre, Albert Camus, and Dale Carnegie.

■ VOICES OF MODERATION. Jesse Jackson, home from



Space Shuttle

Atlanta, charges that there is in America "a cultural conspiracy to kill black people."

■ And we say it's just too damned much. A Japanese won the Boston Marathon with the fastest time ever. Call Lee Iacocca. Still, Chris is back. She just beat Martina 6-0, 6-0, in 54 minutes.

■ The Sixties have hit the United Kingdom. In London, black riots. In Ulster, Ramsey Clark and Dan Berrigan. Abbie Hoffman sent regrets.

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## Reagan's Revolution

Those who believed that President Reagan lost valuable political momentum during his recuperation should have informed Tip O'Neill, who, in one of the more remarkable political pronouncements, threw in the towel. "Many of the Democrats" will back Reagan's economic package, O'Neill said. "I can read Congress. . . . They go with the will of the people, and the will of the people is to go along with the President. . . . I've been in politics a long time, and I know when you fight and when you don't."

And so Reagan's revolution rolls forward. It is a peculiarly American revolution. There are no mobs in the streets, no revolt in the fleet, no storming of Winter Palace or Bastille, no jailing of the opposition. It is a revolution whose intense inner seriousness is masked by jokes, as once again American politics demonstrates its remarkable capacity for absorbing major changes.

In his televised address to a joint session of Congress, the President once again showed himself to be a master of timing and symbolism. He took lethal aim at traditional liberal wimpism about our "sick society." Sick societies, he said, "don't produce men like the two who recently returned from outer space. Sick societies don't produce young men like Secret Service agent Tim McCarthy, who placed his body between mine and the man with the gun simply because he felt that's what his duty called for him to do. Sick societies don't produce dedicated police officers like Tom Delahanty or able and devoted public servants like Jim Brady. Sick societies don't make people like us so proud to be Americans and so very proud of our fellow citizens." Reagan may not have had Jimmy Carter's "national malaise" speech consciously in mind; but, nevertheless, he provided a direct answer to it.

Reagan turned his own recovery into a metaphor for the nation, and he frankly demanded radical change: "The old and comfortable way is to shave a little here and add a little there. Well, that's not acceptable any more. I think this great and historic Con-

gress knows that way is no longer acceptable." In those phrases there were Kennedy resonances, but buttressed by reality.

Reagan, crucially, made a bipartisan appeal—seizing the opportunity to split the Democrats by endorsing the substitute budget measure advanced by Representative Phil Gramm, a Texas Democrat, and Representative Delbert Latta, an Ohio Republican. In all essentials it resembles the White House proposal. Reagan said, Welcome aboard; and many Democrats will accept the invitation.

Reagan has had the skill to make his revolution appear to be simple common sense. "Our government is too big and it spends too much." Ovation. Massive public support. Four standing ovations from the Congress. Reagan's political momentum appears to be irresistible. Peering gloomily over the President's shoulder in the upper-right-hand quadrant of the screen, Speaker O'Neill's rotund countenance said it all. The settled assumptions of half a century were being tossed into the wastebasket. Remember, you were there when it all happened, in 1981.

## A Symbolic Pardon

With his Executive pardon of FBI officials W. Mark Felt and Edward S. Miller, President Reagan sent a clear message: the United States Government, after a lengthy hiatus, is firmly on the side of its central law-enforcement agencies.

Felt and Miller had been convicted of authorizing searches without warrants in an effort to gather leads on the terrorist Weather Underground during the early 1970s. In his statement accompanying the announcement of the pardon, the President pointed out that Felt and Miller had shared the "good-faith belief" that in approving the break-ins at a time when "America was at war" with the Weather Underground, they were acting in the national interest. Felt and Miller

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## Here's to Jesse Helms

Cantankerous and sometimes snippy,  
He never sneers at Mississippi,  
Nor does he favor the idea  
Of undermining South Korea,  
South Africa, Taiwan, or Chile.  
He says Ted Kennedy is silly.  
When badgered, he just puts a hold on  
Those nominees that he's not sold on.  
Though some insist he's hard to savor,  
He keeps us honest when we waver.

W. H. VON DREELE

also believed that their actions were covered by the implicit authority of the Executive to act in defense of the nation.

But Felt and Miller ran into the mood of the post-Vietnam and post-Watergate era, in which the key national-security institutions of the country came under sustained assault. The Presidency itself was circumscribed by the Clark Amendment, the War Powers Act, and other measures. The CIA lost its covert capability, and agents abroad were exposed and in some cases assassinated. Files on thousands of subversives were destroyed. For about ten years, the liberal thesis that America itself was the real enemy of humanitarian values became reflected in public policy. Felt and Miller, patriots surviving into an evil era, were indicted and convicted.

All that is over, President Reagan said with his pardon. The process of national reconstruction continues.

## Grain Rescission

There is a pragmatic case, plausible though not necessarily compelling, for the Administration's rescission of the embargo in effect since early 1980 on food grains and phosphate fertilizers to the Soviet Union. It is pointless to stick to your guns when they are demonstrably incapable of reaching their targets. The concerned substances are fungible. Related markets reveal the hydraulic effect: a pinch at one point produces a bulge somewhere else. The Soviet Union found other suppliers. The U.S. found other customers. Trade patterns over the globe gradually adjusted. The interdictions caused inconvenience and extra expense—replicated here—but nothing so damaging as to chasten the aggressor against Afghanistan. In a statesman's words from another era, "When a mast falls overboard . . . , you cut away the hamper altogether. And it should be so with a policy." The Administration's action—it specifically retains restrictions on high-technology transfers, a matter of continuing palpable importance—conforms to that practical precept.

That grain futures actually fell in the wake of the decision underscores the negligibility of the restrictions—and gives point to those who deplore a gratuitous abandonment of a symbol decrying Soviet aggression. One mushy rationalization voiced by the Administration—citing as justification for the rescission the Soviets' relative forbearance, up to now, toward the restless Poles—implicitly defers to that point. That rationalization calls to mind what an aunt of ours once said in another connection: "It's worse than a non-sequitur. It doesn't even follow logically." Soviet savaging of Afghanistan can in no wise be extenuated by a dilemma vis-à-vis Poland.

Altogether, it was an unfortunate juncture for Ad-

ministration spokesmen. Secretary of State Alexander Haig's sensitivity to unfortunate inferences all too likely to be drawn by friends and adversaries prompted him to a hands-off caveat—in the spirit of "mama really spank next time"—regarding Poland. The White House thereupon felt compelled to a prolix and evasive effusion about multiple options. Our counsel to Administration spokesmen at whatever levels: Get your act together.

## Ben's World

Like many people in Washington, I have a friend at the *Washington Post*. Over the weekend, we conversed. He tried to give an impression of what it was like to work at the *Post*, and to what extent the *Post's* environment nurtured the "Jimmy's World" scandal. I pass it along, for what it is worth—little, perhaps, given the current questioning of anonymous sources. But the editors know his name; and I can drive them to his house.

The most important thing about the *Post* is that it is a reporters' paper. Reporters are permitted to write at length; the hand of the copy-desk is light. More important, editors egg them on. *Post* reporters are encouraged to think of themselves as the Marine Corps of journalism.

A few reporters do notably well in holding their ground against over-eager editors. Only a few days earlier, my friend said he had heard of an interchange in raised voices between Milton Coleman and Courtland Milloy. Coleman is the black City Editor; Milloy, a black Metro reporter. Coleman yelled that he had ordered Milloy to find a black family whose future will be wrecked by Reagan's economics. Milloy shouted back that he had looked for such a family, hadn't found one, and that Coleman was guiding himself by hunches and preconceptions. Coleman insisted. Milloy replied, Then get another reporter for your story; he, Milloy, would not invent evidence. (Milloy was the reporter who was sent out with Janet Cooke on the mission to find Jimmy's house on Xenia Street, and came back to tell Coleman that the girl had never been in the neighborhood before. Milloy was ignored.)

My friend filled in the *dramatis personae*. Benjamin Bradlee, Executive Editor, is responsible for the notion of the *Post* as a reporters' paper. He is intelligent, pushy, and authoritative—but approachable. He dominates Publisher Donald Graham. Graham, in his mid-thirties, is the grandson of Eugene Meyer, and is conscious of being Publisher by inheritance rather than achievement. He empathizes with his staff, and will probably never take hold in an authoritative way.

Robert Woodward is Assistant Managing Editor of metropolitan news. Behind his back, reporters call

him GK—God King. He is ruthless, energetic, ambitious, and intends to succeed Bradlee, who is 59. (Janetgate, my friend said the staff was whispering, might damage his chances.) Categorizing him politically is hard; he is cynical about all institutions except his own—possibly even about it, except insofar as he touches it. Woodward picked Coleman to be City Editor, for which Coleman is beholden to him.

Janet Cooke worked first on the Metro weekly staff, then went on to City assignments last summer. Her colleagues found her aloof and stand-offish. Coleman intimated to others that she did not share his concern that blacks get ahead. She was Janet-conscious, not black-conscious. She wanted a Pulitzer (and said so), for herself and not for her race. By the same token, though, my friend said he was not at all surprised at the *Post's* failure to check her academic record. What counts at the *Post* is what you do for them.

My friend denied that the editors had conspired to get Janet to make up the story. She got the same indoctrination other reporters on the *Post* get: stretch for the story, be bold. She was also a potential asset to them, since editors share in the glory when one of their charges hooks an award—a double glory, from the standpoint of affirmative action, if the award goes to a black woman.

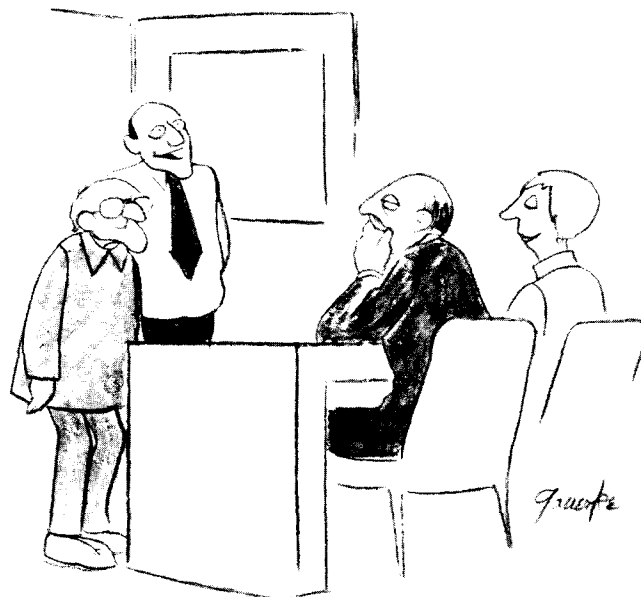
I asked if the editors had compared notes on the fictitious nature of the account the girl was developing, and my friend guessed that they had not. They did not hear the ringing alarm bells because, figuratively, they had stuffed their ears. No higher-up was willing to raise questions that might have spoiled a story which they had tacitly agreed should go forward.

"Jimmy's World," my friend emphasized, was not a story in the past tense. The debauching of that boy by a dope-pushing adult was portrayed as an on-going crime. Yet the editors refused to cooperate with the authorities in finding and saving him. Why? Because to raise questions about the moral necessity of doing something would have been as destructive to the story as the technicalities of verification.

Obviously the editors were in a contradiction. Each had to act as if he thought the story true; yet each had to withhold himself from actions he would have taken—or at least considered—if he had really thought it was true. Perhaps they would have become aware of their bind if they had discussed the situation candidly among themselves. But this was impossible. In case the story was questioned, each of them had to be in a position to say that no doubts had ever entered his mind. That way, they would only be guilty of a lapse of competence, not turpitude.

What happened, I asked, when the story got published and drew torrents of doubt, from within the *Post* and from outside—Mayor Barry, the police?

That's when the stonewalling began, my friend an-



**"No prisoner was ever more rehabilitated. In over fifty years of crime, he's been rehabilitated 16 times."**

swered. The doubts aired within the *Post* were multitudinous and persuasive. The police had their backs up. They put on a massive search, at great expense, and found no Jimmy. The *Post* insisted that Jimmy existed. The police charged that the story was faked. It was the editors' rectitude versus the police's competence. The editors felt forced to vindicate themselves by putting the story up for a Pulitzer Prize. Not to have done so would have amounted to confessing judgment, as the courts say.

I asked about Managing Editor Howard Simons and Deputy Editor David Maraniss. Simons, my friend said, was well-described by the *Post's* Ombudsman as "parental." My friend was high on Maraniss—honest, decent, compassionate, competent. When the discovery of Cooke's fake credentials blew the whole thing up, the other editors turned on her as Adam turned on Eve. "She is some actress," Bradlee said. ("And we're some actors," he might have added.) Maraniss took over, calmed the hysterical girl, and got an acknowledgment out of her that the story was fabricated. He's the one in touch with her in seclusion.

There is no end of speculation among *Post* staffers, my friend went on, over what will happen to the girl. One possibility is that she will be gotten a job on one of the *Post's* subsidiary publishing properties—a term in purgatory—followed by a quiet rehabilitation after a remorseful restoring of perspectives. It might be possible to work out something really sanctimonious along that line after some decent interval. Some such promise may well have been held out to her, with Maraniss as intermediary. The *Post's* chief interest, in any case, is to keep her from talking.

What effect has this had on the *Post*?

There has never been anything in *Post* history, my friend said, like the impromptu staff meeting at Woodward's house on the night of April 16. The reportorial staff was candid, demanding, insistent. The line taken by the leadership was to consider the whole episode as a parenthesis in the glorious history of the *Post*, the Reporters' Paper. The root cause was nothing but inattention—excessive confidence placed in a faithless reporter who exploited her mentors. Woodward also emphasized the stress and strain of working for the *Post*. The paper imposes superhuman pressures for excellence. One must put a single breakdown of standards in proper perspective.

The staffers were skeptical. Maraniss, Milloy, and others rubbed in the point that there was no excuse for putting a disputed story up for an award. The meeting lasted well past midnight.

Our discussion turned to the Ombudsman's report in the April 19 *Post*. The Ombudsman is one in a succession of ombudsmen whom the *Post* takes on. He was put under a lot of pressure. He was faced by a quick deadline set by his temporary employers. Maybe he should have asked for three weeks or three months, instead of accepting three days. Under the circumstances, he did surprisingly well. His report gives a lot of clues—perhaps more than he intended, and certainly more than the editors hoped he'd give.

My friend concluded: Nobody got fired. Even the miscreant girl was allowed to resign. If other heads had rolled there might have been some regenerative impact. But that is getting into fantasy. You just can't imagine anything like that happening at the *Washington Post*.  
—WINSTON

## Radical Cheek

Washington's leftist Institute for Policy Studies has been dealt a damaging blow by an unlikely assailant: the *New York Times*. In its Sunday magazine, the *Times* has run a low-key but devastating exposé by Joshua Muravchik.

Until now the *Times* has treated the IPS simply as a "research organization," running frequent contributions by IPS staffers on its Op-Ed page. But the IPS's governing ideology is Marxist, and its vast and varied publications and enterprises are devoted to collectivizing America, while making every remotely plausible excuse for the conduct of the Soviet Union, Cuba, Vietnam, and even Cambodia. One of its "scholars," Gareth Porter, has written a book arguing that Pol Pot "is only the latest victim of the enforcement of an ideology that demands that social revolutions be portrayed as negatively as possible," and that this poor victim's regime had in fact created "a collective framework designed to release the creative energies of

the people." There you have a few measures of the distinctive IPS music.

The IPS has already been hurt by Rael Jean Isaac's far more withering account of the group's ties with other organizations. But because Mrs. Isaac's assertions are harder to verify, they are easier to denounce as slanders, which the leftist Hive has diligently done.

But Muravchik sticks closely to IPS texts, focusing particularly on the IPS's campaign to insinuate itself into the liberal establishment. Mark Hatfield and the late Hans Morgenthau have praised it, and Carterites like Stuart Eizenstat and Patricia Derian have lectured at its Washington School. Congressmen John Conyers (D., Mich.) and Ronald Dellums (D., Calif.) continue to work closely with the IPS.

Muravchik suggests that the real threat IPS now poses is not to the United States, which is pronouncedly conservative at the moment, but to liberalism and the Democratic Party. Unless they keep their distance from the sort of radicalism IPS espouses, they will only suffer further political losses. The publication of Muravchik's study is a sign the *Times* may think so too.

## The Glorious Fourth

Kevin Phillips, the pollster and pundit, predicts that the Eighties will see a fourth "Great Awakening" of religion in America. His analysis is persuasive and, it hardly needs saying, important.

Phillips bases his prediction on the Connecticut Mutual Insurance survey, "American Values in the Eighties: The Impact of Belief." The survey finds a huge gap between the moral and religious convictions of the American people and those of their leaders. That gap has already begun to express itself politically.

Put briefly, ordinary Americans are far more likely to be religious and conservative than their leaders—including some of their religious leaders. For a while they tolerated the ascendancy of an elite that lobbied for massive redistribution and easy abortion, say, as against the work ethic and the family. But the point of critical mass has been reached: though many people will accept welfare and even legal abortion as emergency measures, they will not stand idly by as exceptional situations become institutionalized.

"It's clear there is a dramatic gap," says John Pollack, the survey's director. "Overall, leaders are different from the public. They don't represent the public." As the public is now serving notice. Pollack suggests that "it may be the intensely religious who may well be the most vocal groups in the Eighties, just as it was the disenchanted who were the most vocal in the Sixties and Seventies."

At the moment the mass media—largely controlled

by the declining leadership—are focusing on the Moral Majority and the wilder manifestations of the emerging reality. In their alarm, they are ignoring the deeper and broader social currents, thereby proving again that they are out of touch with the public. But what they apparently failed to learn from the election of 1980 they are likely to learn in the years ahead: the leadership itself is changing, from the top down.

## The Shroud Again

The claim that scientists using modern methods have discerned first century coins on the eyes of the Shroud of Turin figure has given rise to some scholarly controversy. In the Fall 1980 *Biblical Archaeology*, L. Y. Rahmani, Chief Curator, Israeli Department of Antiquities and Museums, addressed himself directly to the issue of the coins on the Shroud image. Rahmani argues, with scholarly specificity, that coins were not placed on the eyes of a corpse in normal Jewish first century burial ritual. On the other hand, results of current scientific research, employing computerized "Mars" techniques for enhancing photographs, are reported in the February 1981 issue of *Frontier* magazine, and summarized as follows: "The three-dimensional pictures also had revealed strange button-like objects on the eyes . . . Further computer treatment of that portion of the Shroud revealed an irregular shape consistent with ancient coins. [John] Jackson got Fr. Filas of Loyola University, a coin expert, to state his belief that the objects are coins and that the markings suggest an inscription that would date them during the reign of Pontius Pilate. But the computer had its limits, and no more clarity was possible."

That, as the scientists say, is the state of the question on the coins. *NR* has taken a purely empirical position as regards the Shroud, treating it like any historical datum, and announcing developments as they occur. We have received, however, a considerable amount of correspondence containing accusations of superstition, exaggeration, pious fraud, and whatnot. Better to stick with the facts as they emerge in this engrossingly important matter.

## Reuben Maury, RIP

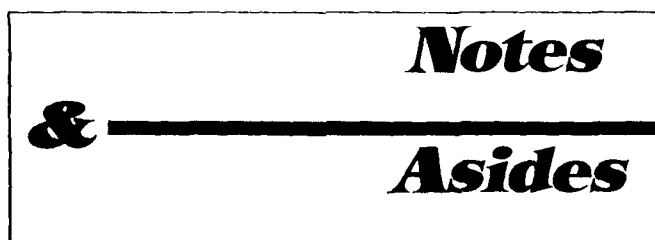
In the early days, commuting to New York from Stamford, I'd see him, often, because half the time we were on the same train. His bald head was bent over a newspaper or book. Although (knowing his predilections) I would avoid looking at him, inevitably our eyes would meet. Instantly he would lower his head, as if he hadn't noticed; as would I (though we were friends). On reaching the station, I'd wait until he got

up to go. He'd wait in the unlikely event I got up first. The idea was to avoid casual conversation. He was that shy. Another person riding the same car from time to time was Charles Lindbergh. Nobody accosted him, and he accosted nobody. But if Lindbergh was the prince of shyness, Maury was the king.

For 46 years, Reuben Maury was the chief editorial writer for the *New York Daily News*, the largest-circulation newspaper in the country. His reclusive habits were horribly frustrated when an editorial writers' award was granted in 1940 on a special basis. Because the nation was fiercely divided between the hawks (let's go to war) and the doves (let's stay out of war), it was decreed by the sponsoring organization that two awards would be given, one each to editorial writers defending the two positions. *First prize for the isolationists: Editorial writer for the New York Daily News.* Reuben rises from the audience, shuffles forward to the dais, takes the prize, mumbles his thanks, returns to his seat. *First prize for the interventionists: Editorial writer for Collier's Weekly.* Silence. Then Reuben Maury rises from the audience, shuffles forward to the dais, takes the prize, mumbles his thanks, returns to his seat—amidst the greatest hilarity in newspaper history. Old Reuben had been moonlighting.

He was a man of spare style, direct approach, no-nonsense patriotism. (Marlene Dietrich had "two very special legs.") He retired reluctantly in 1972, with his beloved, and necessarily extroverted wife, "Tommy." He was a legend among the professionals, a Dutch uncle to millions of New Yorkers. Every year he sent a financial contribution to *NATIONAL REVIEW*. He'd have been very embarrassed by any fuss; and so the funeral was private.

—WFB



### ■ Memo to: WFB

From: Jim McFadden

Re: The President's health

You will be glad to know that both the *Washington Post* (April 3) and the *New York Daily News* (April 2) report signs of a total recovery of the President. From the former: ". . . He watched some of the morning television news shows, read newspapers and the White House news summary, and, keeping his ideology in trim, read some of the *NATIONAL REVIEW*, according to a statement issued by the White House press office." From the *News*: "He watched some morning news

shows, read several newspapers and the NATIONAL REVIEW, and—clad in yellow pajamas and a white robe—walked to the end of the hall and back on his hospital floor.”

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

You have referred editorially to the USSR getting a “primitive” single-precision Univac computer that would therefore be useless for bomber design. Now, I haven’t been following this story in the technical literature, so this is the first that I have heard of this detail. However, I have been using computers for over a decade, and have a PhD in applied math (computer science) from Harvard, which is now selling one of the computer programs that I wrote for my PhD. I am now teaching computer engineering at the oldest engineering institute of higher education in the U.S.A.

The presence or absence of double precision makes little qualitative difference in the computer’s capabilities. If you only have single-precision hardware, you can simulate double precision in the software with simple computer programs. This permits you to then run all the big programs in double precision with the only cost being that they will be up to, say, five times slower. This technique is standard on minicomputers where the manufacturers often supply the appropriate routines automatically for their customers. This is universally known in the industry.

I believe that a far more serious matter is the export of computer software (the programs), often custom-written according to the Russians’ specifications. A new program has a qualitative difference in that it lets you do something that you could not do at all, with no matter what degree of inefficiency, before. Further, writing a large computer program can take thousands of man-years, so that it is a significant managerial problem, which is an area that the Russians are weak in. The trouble is that a tape with a program is not as spectacular as a computer with lots of fancy blinking lights, even though the information on the tape may be far more valuable. In the U.S., the Department of Defense (DOD) now spends over five times as much money on software (programmers’ salaries etc.) as on hardware (the computers themselves). DOD expects this ratio to grow to 10 to 1 in the next decade. I can cite the references to this in DOD publications, if you wish.

Now, this makes the situation far worse because you can transmit a computer program over a long-distance phone wire without Customs being aware. Since microfiche and tape copies are so small, you could also use diplomatic pouch.

I am generally against exporting anything, technology or resources, to the USSR. However, it burns me up to see the hypocrisy of some of the Farm-Belt Republican senators, who, over the years, have resolutely argued against selling computers while arguing for selling wheat.

In fact, you and your associates’ ignorance of science shows in about every fourth issue of *NR* when you make yet another basic factual error. I’ve written and mentioned some in the past. One recent one was the statement that the sun runs by fission. Now, you would laugh at someone who presumed to quote something in French and got the grammar wrong. This is how your statements on science look. This is important because you know much more politics than I, and you are continually quoting inside information, so that I have to take your statements at least partly on faith. I have to assume that you really know what you are talking about there, even though in the only area in which I am competent to judge you, you are totally ignorant.

Nevertheless, the articles that you have specialists write on science are generally quite good. Why don’t you hire one of these people permanently to check your statements for accuracy?

Finally, conservatives love to suggest the abolition of the Department of Energy (DOE), thus saving the taxpayer its total budget. However, much of this money goes to well-respected labs that existed before the DOE was created. These include Los Alamos, where the A-bomb was developed, and several other labs where research is now being done to alleviate the energy crisis. This solid, respectable research doesn’t get mentioned in the papers, while the fringe research and the crackpots do get mentioned. If these labs were abolished along with the bloated upper-level bureaucracy, then the U.S. would be much poorer, both scientifically and militarily.

Sincerely,  
Professor Wm. Randolph Franklin  
Troy, New York

Dear Professor Franklin: 1) Thanks for extremely interesting information concerning the computer. 2) Do please correct us whenever we err; it frapped le hell out of me to learn that the sun runs other than on fission. Thank you. 3) Since those labs created the atom bomb before the beginning of the Department of Energy, couldn’t we have scientific development without a Department of Energy today? Is it scientifically possible to turn the clock back? Cordially,

WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Mr. Robert Pushaw Jr. writes that “Andrew Johnson returned to represent Tennessee in the Senate 13 years after leaving the Presidency.” If Mr. Johnson returned 13 years after leaving the Presidency he returned from the grave, as he died on July 31, 1875, just over four years out of the White House.

Sincerely,  
Dalton V. Bergsten  
Saint Charles, Ill.

—WFB



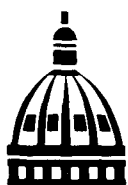
# THE MACNEIL- LEHRER REPORT. UNERRINGLY ON TARGET.

Weeknights on PBS  
with Charlayne Hunter-Gault



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# The Current WISDOM



Winning One  
For  
The Quipper

NEAL B. FREEMAN

IN EVELYN WAUGH'S novel *Scoop*, there is a wickedly satirical scene, one of many, in which William Boot, confused with an illustrious journalist of the same surname by Lord Copper of Fleet Street, is dispatched to cover the hostilities in far-off Ishmaelia. Appointed a "special" for the daily *Beast*, Boot fumbles through a briefing with His Lordship's managing editor before inquiring finally, "Well, there is one thing. You see I don't read the papers very much. Can you tell me who is fighting who in Ishmaelia?"

The managing editor, Salter, replies: "I think it's the Patriots and the Traitors."

To which Boot responds: "Yes, but which is which?"

Waugh's delicious bit of dialogue does double duty for us today. It reminds us not only of the pretensions of so-called investigative so-called reporting, but also of the importance of political definition. For the struggle is always and everywhere, is it not, between the Patriots and the Traitors, and the semantic trick is to affix the proper labels before the belligerents engage. If one is interested in limiting union power, for instance, one might champion the "right to work." If one wishes to trivialize the Afghan resistance, for another instance, anti-Soviet forces can be designated "rebels." If one wishes to maintain monopoly profits in media businesses, one can hold high the banner of "the people's right to know." And yes, if truth be told, if one wants to give the productive class a tax break, one is well situated to witness the birth of a new social science called "supply-side economics." Our journalism has become a child's garden of rhetorical conceits. All of which is a roundabout way of explaining why the coming of Ronald Reagan has been an event of such significance.

Let us say first off that we did not fully appreciate the power of his voice or the gift of his leadership until he

was struck down. It is only in the last few weeks, during the period of his recovery in hospital and his recuperation at home, that we have noticed the slackening pace of his revolution. So amiable has he been, so reassuring was his manner in assuming the "burdens" of the presidential office, that we scarcely remarked the speed with which familiar scenery was passing our express-train window. It is only now in the relative quiet of his convalescence that his ambition becomes apparent. He means to carve out a new role for government at home and a new role for America in the world. Frankly, it had never crossed our capitolized mind that he intended to do *exactly* what he said he would do. But there is the plan, his plan, for all the world to see. It's a revolution, quite evidently, but he *says* he is shoring up our defenses and revitalizing our economy and it sounds like just a little more of the same only better. Who could oppose common sense? he asks with a shrug. And virtually nobody does.

THEN comes the Hinckley bullet, time stands still, and, while the President rests in Nancy's solarium, other men good and true are left to carry on the battle. George Bush, Jim Baker, Dave Stockman, and Ed Meese. They push hard on the staff and hard on the Hill and hardest of all on themselves. They want desperately to win this one for The Quipper. But the results are slow in coming and the first gossamer lines of political opposition begin to form. In the battle for spending cuts, precious momentum is lost when three conservative senators, two of them beneficiaries of Reagan's coattails just a few months ago, jump ship. On the House side, a Democratic member senses an opening and produces an "alternative budget." Instead of sweeping all before it in a tidal wave of political inevitability the Administration now finds itself

locked in a line-by-line debate with a balding congressman from Oklahoma named Jones. The revolution cools and the chapped-finger crowd recalculates the odds. More time is lost. On the foreign policy front there is more trouble. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which must pass on all of Reagan's nominees for policymaking jobs, goes into a deliberative trance. The President's man for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, is too liberal and the President's man for Law of the Seas, Jim Malone, is too conservative, and as for Ernest Lefever and Tom Pauken and Lawrence Eagleburger, well, they're all too something. April turns into May and the Senate has still not given the President the help he says he needs.

For the first time, the White House staff begins to put the knock on the Senate. Howard Baker is to blame for settling for a 9 to 8 Republican-Democrat ratio on Foreign Relations. With 9 to 7 or even 10 to 8 we would be home free, they say. And Chuck Percy, the chairman, is to blame for letting Cranston call the committee tune. We're the majority now. Let's act like it. And what about Mathias? Who let *him* become the swing vote on that committee? Are we going to be held hostage for four years to his private agenda? And so on and so on. Loser's talk, all of it. The kind of talk that the President, were he in the room, would silence with a casual wave of the hand. Without looking at anybody in particular, he would duck his head to one side, smile, and say, "You fellas sound like the guys we voted out of here last November." It is the President's cruelest cut but it draws no blood.

George Bush does his best, which, just now, in these extraordinary circumstances, is not good enough. He gropes for but cannot locate the fresh formulations that redescribe and thus redefine the choices in political life. He seeks instinctively the familiar ground of code-word rhetoric and the opposition, reassured and emboldened, moves in its customary way to confront him. How very different from wrestling with the political chimera of Ronald Reagan! That same chimera who with a sad smile could dismiss an incumbent President as a petulant incompetent—mute his quest for a radically transformed America into an old-shoe summons to common sense—and, in a moment of personal heroism, call back a nation of believers from the edge of cynicism. □

# Furor Over a Non-Vitamin

**A**-21, it's called. When he first heard about it, Yale's president A. Bartlett Giamatti thought it was a vitamin. It has aroused high ire among scientists and educators, in a ruckus pitting academe against government bureaucracy. The controversy illuminates how Washington's tentacles are spreading on campus, threatening academic freedom and scientific inquiry.

*Circular A-21* is a set of regulations issued years ago by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget. It sets forth cost accounting principles for colleges and universities performing research under government grants.

What touched off the current commotion is an amendment to A-21 that took effect last fall over widespread protests. The revision calls for an onerous kind of documentation by faculty members receiving federal research grants. They're now required to account for 100% of their doings. They're supposed to keep track of and report precisely how much time they spend on research, teaching, administration, counseling, and other activities, both on campus and off.

The new tangle of red tape has drawn attack, individually and collectively, from academicians and scientists across the country. They see it as wasteful, meaningless, costly, demeaning, and detrimental to scientific progress. At one large West Coast university, the regulation will generate 3,000 to 8,000 more reports yearly and will mean spending up to \$300,000 to put in the new reporting system, according to the journal *Science*.

Among the critics are the National Academy of Sciences, the Association of American Universities, the Council of Scientific Society Presidents, and numerous faculty senates. The academy takes the view that the regulation will churn up a mountain of "cumbersome and mean-

ingless" paperwork, stifle flexibility in research, and frustrate and demoralize faculty members. Educational institutions, already hard pressed financially, will now be forced to spend large sums in ways that contribute nothing to education and science.

Individual professors protest that it's none of the government's business how they spend their time. They seethe at having to tell the government how much effort they devote to activities unrelated to government-sponsored research. The University of Hawaii's faculty senate has decried "any attempt to assess intellectual effort by hours expended, rather than objectives achieved. . ."

A similar reporting requirement was proposed in the late 1960s. It was quickly dropped on recommendation of a government task force that called it "meaningless and a waste of time" both for the government and universities. Now it's back again.

"Never have I seen the lash of federal regulation applied to a crucial area of the nation's intellectual life with such seeming indifference to financial and human consequences," President Giamatti of Yale declared in a speech last fall. "Science is at the core of the university's mission," he said. "Whatever strikes at that core cuts at the heart of the university."

A slowdown in the pace of innovation is a key cause of America's economic sluggishness and declining competitiveness in world markets. Basic research enlarges and builds knowledge leading to technological innovation. Much of America's basic research is carried out in universities. It doesn't make sense to blunt scientific creativity, inquiry, and experimentation on campus through still more layers of red tape that serve only to keep paper-shuffling bureaucrats busy.



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# Where 'Peace' Means War

# The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

THERE ARE certain words in certain contexts that cry out for quotation marks. One is "detente"; another is "peace." It is the latter that engages my attention this week.

In the final "peace" which the Soviet version of Leninism envisions, there will be no war because the Soviet empire will extend all over the earth. So pervious are we, as a whole, to Communist propaganda that it used to be taken for granted that Communist states would never go to war with each other. Tito's break with Stalin was regarded as one man's solitary act of defiance, and Mao's break with Khrushchev was long regarded with deep suspicion by Kremlinologists as far too obviously a Soviet disinformation ploy to be worthy of credence.

Well, look at recent history: already we have had two international wars between Communist powers (China versus Vietnam, Vietnam versus Cambodia), not counting the Soviet invasions of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Afghanistan.

There is another sense of *peace*, however, which is both urgent and important. The current Soviet "peace" campaign is, I believe, of unprecedented proportions. Let us be more specific. The main coordinating instrument on the Soviet side is the World Peace Council, set up in 1948, and now headquartered in Helsinki. The "World" in the title is no idle boast. All over the world, the WPC has branches and sub-branches and affiliates. Confusingly (and with intent), the names keep changing as new committees or subcommittees are spawned, or old ones change their names.

## By Whatever Name

In Britain, for instance, we have had the All-Britain Peace Liaison Group, but last year a new British Peace Assembly was set up. In the U.S., the Presidential Committee Bureau of the WPC played an important part in the series of conferences and demonstrations which so worked on President Carter's conscience that he halted production of the enhanced radiation warhead (emotively dubbed the "neutron bomb") in April

1978. And now, watch out for the activities of the new "People's Anti-War Mobilization," which is staging a mass demonstration on May 3 "to stop the U.S. war buildup." The concern of the WPC is always with what *our* side is doing. It is not by coincidence that *Pravda* on March 25 gave warning against the "unprecedented super-arming" of the United States.

Right now, however, it is in Europe that the heat is really on. There was a first wave late in 1979, to scare the Dutch and Belgian governments out of deploying the new generation of nuclear weapons on their national soil. It worked. In December of that year, NATO's ministerial council did decide to welcome the new weapons (mainly the Pershing II and the cruise missile), but the Dutch and Belgians have been making it clear that the welcome was meant for other allied countries, not themselves. Chancellor Schmidt of Germany did say his country would deploy the new weapons, but only if others did, and on the understanding that if arms-control talks with the Soviets came to anything, they could opt out.

The current campaign, however, began on February 5, with simultaneous sorties in various places. In Moscow, *Pravda* carried an article warning West Europeans of the dangers the neutron bomb presented to them. That day the Indian President of the WPC, Romesh Chandra, called for "a month of action against the neutron bomb." And in London, the Communist Party's faithful *Morning Star* called for a "new and second campaign against this most horrible of weapons"; and the General Secretary of the Labor Party, Ron Hayward, said his party would join fellow socialists throughout Europe "to ensure that this foul weapon is rejected."

Indeed, it is quite like old times. Twenty years ago, the rather dotty but world-famous philosopher, Bertrand Russell (who, when the U.S. still had its monopoly, was one of the advocates of a pre-emptive nuclear strike against the USSR), was out there marching with the demonstrators of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, along with an earnest and eloquent cleric, Canon Collins.

Today, lo, the images are transmuted,

and, where Lord Russell marched and spoke, one sees the dotty-looking figure of the Marxist philosopher, Professor E. P. Thompson, and somehow Canon Collins's features have been transformed into the pleasing facial contours of a Catholic priest, Monsignor Bruce Kent. Then as now, the priest and the philosopher.

This same Bruce Kent sent a message of support to the "World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace" (yet another creation of the WPC) when it held its inaugural in Sofia last September.

## Watch Olof Palme

I have been reading the WPC's program for this year. Fascinating. Just name a cause and it is there, in black and white. Argentina, Chile, South Africa, U.S. actions in El Salvador, and we could run out of *et ceteras*. Those, you understand, are the "baddies," intended to arouse indignation. But there are the "goodies," too, such as Afghanistan (government of, to be supported) and the PLO and Libya (to be shown solidarity with).

But I have scarcely skimmed the surface. Two more bodies must find a mention here, lest their purposes be overlooked or misunderstood: the Socialist International (SI) and the Olof Palme Disarmament Commission. Indeed, they overlap to a good extent. Olof Palme (the Swedish ex-Prime Minister who recognized North Vietnam during the late war) is a paid-up member of the Socialist International. Palme set up his Disarmament Commission in Vienna last September. Egon Bahr, the German left-wing nationalist and true author of Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, was a founder-member. So, too, was Georgy Arbatov, of the Soviet Institute for the Study of the United States and Canada, who specializes in written distortions of the American way of life.

The SI, in particular, is turning into a formidable vehicle for the dissemination of Soviet initiatives. In Madrid in February, the SI worked out a strategy to counter the Reagan Administration's policies.

All that, and much, much more, is what we are up against. □

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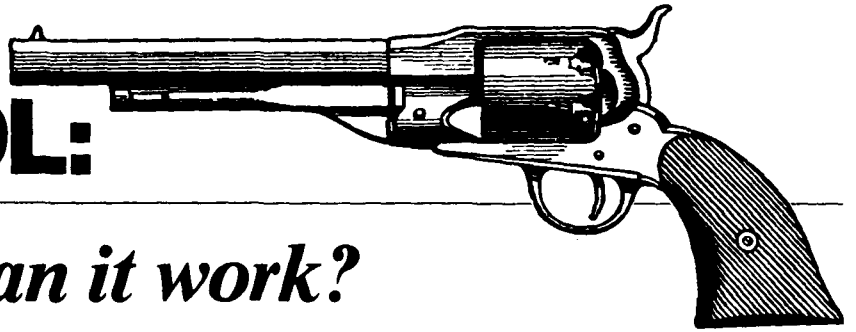
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DON B. KATES JR.

# GUN CONTROL:



## *Can it work?*

**T**HE ASSASSINATION of John Lennon and the attempt on President Reagan occasioned much editorialization for "gun control." This is ironic, since the argument for such legislation has generally been that banning handguns would reduce domestic homicide—it being everywhere recognized that it would have little effect upon assassins or hardened criminals. After all, even in England authorities find that there are always sufficient illicit guns for any criminal who is really determined to have one. And it is difficult to imagine anyone more determined than an assassin who is willing to risk death or long imprisonment for the attempt.

For related reasons I am even skeptical that a handgun ban would reduce domestic and acquaintance homicide. But before discussing this, I should make some disclaimers. First, far from representing the "gun lobby," I am a liberal criminologist with a background in civil-rights law, and a teacher of constitutional and criminal law and criminal procedure. Unlike those who typically oppose gun bans, I did not grow up with guns. I am happy to say that neither I nor the rest of my family has ever hunted. Nor am I going to espouse the Second Amendment right to keep and bear arms, or argue that people should own handguns for protection. Assuming that gun owners are completely wrong on those issues, two more basic questions remain. 1) Can we disarm the millions who believe that they have both constitutional right and urgent necessity for a handgun to protect their families? 2) Do the likely benefits of trying to disarm them outweigh the likely costs?

*States which have had  
the lowest homicide rates  
have had the most lax gun laws*



Unfortunately these questions find no answers in the vast literature for handgun prohibition. It consists mostly of polemics against the handgun, unalloyed by specifics as to how a ban could actually be implemented. Upon critical examination, this literature, which is supposed to have made the definitive case for handgun prohibition, turns out to show only that many progressive and humane scholars de-

test firearms and believe the world would be better off if they somehow disappeared.

Since the case for handgun prohibition is often treated as already established, it may be useful to quote at length some neutral evaluations of this literature. Social-policy analyst Barry Bruce-Briggs: "It is startling to note that no policy research worthy of the name has been done on the issue of gun control. The few attempts at serious work are of marginal competence at best, and tainted by obvious bias." Professor Philip Cook, director of Duke University's Center for the Study of Criminal Justice Policy: "While the consistent failure of gun-control proposals to pass Congress has often been blamed on lobbying efforts of the NRA, part of the problem may be that the case for more stringent gun-control regulation has not yet been made in a scientific fashion."

Indeed, the six states which forbid owning or buying a handgun without a permit (Hawaii, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina) consistently have higher homicide rates than demographically comparable states that allow any sane adult without criminal record to buy them. Contrary to the argument by pro-gun groups, this does not show that widespread handgun ownership deters homicide. Rather it suggests that some states with peculiarly high homicide rates have tried to reduce them by banning handguns. But since that approach consistently fails, a high homicide rate comes to coincide with handgun bans. By the same token, the states which traditionally have had the lowest homicide rates have also had the most lax gun laws.

Banning handguns cannot reduce homicide because, no matter how strict the enforcement, murderers represent so tiny a proportion of the population that there will always be far more handguns (or other legal or illegal firearms)

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*Mr. Kates's first book was Restricting Handguns: The Liberal Skeptics Speak Out. He is currently editing a collection of scholarly papers on firearms regulation to be published by Ballinger under the auspices of the Pacific Institute for Public Policy Research.*

available than they need. Only one out of every 5,400 handguns is used to murder, and a ban can reduce homicide only if it affects possession of that particular weapon.

Prohibitionists have attempted to avoid this obvious truth by arguing that most murders are committed not by "criminals," but by the ordinary citizen in a moment of rage and with a handgun he keeps loaded to protect his home. Accepting (for the moment) this characterization of murderers, it is nevertheless impossible to square the unexamined assumption that a ban will disarm such citizens with our experience under Prohibition and under marijuana laws. People who think they need a handgun to protect their families would have a far stronger incentive to disobey than did marijuana smokers or most drinkers. And keeping (or acquiring in a single black-market transaction) a handgun obviously involves far less risk and effort than the long succession of black-market transactions engaged in by millions of marijuana-law and Prohibition violators. Realistically, compliance with a handgun ban would come only from sportsmen—whom no one really cares about disarming because they don't keep their guns loaded around the house.

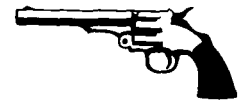
Moreover, when the average murderer is accurately characterized, it becomes evident that he is even less likely to comply with the ban than the ordinary citizen. Unlike the ordinary protection owner, the average murderer is an impoverished, hopeless, often alcoholic or drug-dependent aberrant with a long history of taking out his frustrations in sudden violent outbursts against those around him. National data show that 68 per cent of murderers have previously been arrested for at least one major felony. But arrest data substantially under-represent their true history since it typically involves violence against friends and acquaintances, who rarely press charges—or whose complaints are likely to be dismissed by the police as mere "family disputes." Thus in 90 per cent of domestic homicides police had been to the home at least once before to stop a beat-

ing; in 50 per cent of these murders the police had been there five or more times before.

It should surprise no one if people with such histories of actual violence have little more compunction about violating a handgun ban than the professional robber or burglar whom the prohibitionists themselves concede will never be disarmed. What is surprising is that handgun prohibitionists should be so oblivious to our experience with national Prohibition and marijuana laws as to argue that a national handgun ban would be more enforceable than the few state bans which now exist, e.g., New York's.

A national ban would require enforcement in areas far less well policed than New York and along our 12,000-mile borders. If handguns were illegally imported at the same volume as marijuana, 22 million weapons of the approximate size of the one which killed John Lennon could be smuggled in each year. Of course, since the country has already about 55 million handguns of all kinds, there would not be a market for 22 million new ones. Even now, when handgun sales are legal in 44 states, only about 2.5 million are sold each year—40 per cent to sportsmen, who would presumably not violate a ban. But if we cannot prevent a million illegal immigrants or ten thousand metric tons of marijuana from entering the country each year, a ban will not prevent anyone who wants a handgun for self-defense or crime from getting one.

*'No research worthy  
of the name has been done  
on the issue of gun control'*



But what about all the evidence that handgun prohibition works in England and other countries? The most charitable characterization which a social scientist could make of this "evidence" is that it has been carefully selected to buttress a preconceived position. When the full range of foreign comparisons is made, what appears is this: The gun bans of the European countries commonly compared to the U.S. were not enacted to reduce general violence (with which those countries have been little affected). They were enacted to prevent the assassinations and political terrorism from which England, Germany, etc., still suffer far more than we.

In fact, prohibitionists abruptly stopped referring to England in 1971 with the appearance from Cambridge University of the first in-depth study of that country's handgun-permit law. This Cambridge study attributes England's comparatively low violence wholly to cultural factors, pointing out that until 1920 England had far fewer gun controls than most American states. Yet England had far less violence then than did those states or than England now has. Those who blame greater handgun availability for our greater rates of handgun homicide ignore the fact that rates of murder with knives or without any weapon (i.e., with hands and feet) are also far lower in England. The study's author has asked rhetorically whether it is claimed that knives are less available in England than in the U.S. or that the English have fewer hands and feet than Americans. As a subsequent British government publication puts it, although "one reason often given for American homicide is the easy availability of firearms . . . the strong correlation with racial and linked socio-economic variables suggests that the underlying deter-

minants of the homicide rate relate to particular cultural factors.”

European comparisons would be incomplete without mention of Switzerland, where violence rates are very low though every man of military age is required to own a handgun or fully automatic rifle. Israeli violence is similarly low, though the populace is even more intensively armed. The comparison to handgun-banning Japan's low homicide rate is plainly inappropriate because of our totally different culture and heritage and our substantial ethnic heterogeneity. (The only valid comparison reinforces the irrelevancy of gun bans: it is that Japanese-Americans, with full access to handguns, have a slightly lower homicide rate than their gunless counterparts in Japan.) An appropriate comparison to Japan might be Taiwan. Despite even more stringent anti-handgun laws, it has a homicide rate greater than ours and four times greater than Japan's. Similarly the U.S. might well be compared with South Africa, a highly industrialized and ethnically heterogeneous country which has very little political violence. Despite one of the world's most stringent “gun control” programs, South Africa's non-political homicide rate is twice ours.

Before concluding this part of the discussion I should emphasize that comparisons between differing societies are very difficult to make and dangerous to generalize from. Had the choice been mine I would have refrained from any such comparisons. But so much of the argument for handgun prohibition has been based upon specious reasoning from specially chosen foreign examples that clarification becomes almost obligatory.

*Had the charges against  
Hinckley not been dropped  
he would have been in prison*



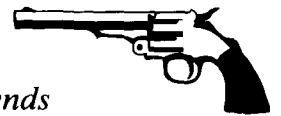
While the benefits flowing from handgun prohibition have been greatly exaggerated, the costs have gone virtually unnoticed. From a civil-liberties point of view, the proposals of those few prohibitionists who have seriously considered enforcement techniques are truly scary. One is to “reinterpret” the Fourth Amendment to allow police to swoop down on strategically located streets, round up pedestrians en masse, and herd them through portable airport-type metal detectors. A formerly free populace will now be unable to work or run ordinary errands without the risk of being dragnetted into long lines such as they now encounter only when voluntarily traveling by air. Of course—for whatever consolation it may be to the rest of us—we may expect that the flying squads' attentions will be focused on certain neighborhoods and on people of certain racial and economic characteristics.

But the metal-detector approach would only operate against transportation of handguns, not remove them from the home. So a respected liberal federal judge has recently urged the Supreme Court to abandon the constitutional requirement of probable cause in gun-search cases. In other words, the police would be empowered to break into any home, search any person or vehicle, simply at random or by whim. Yet another proposal is to offer bounties for people to turn in their friends, neighbors, and relatives. One is reminded of Pavel Morozov, the 14-year-old boy posthu-

mously lionized by Stalin after he was murdered for having turned in his father as a violator of Soviet farm-collectivization policies.

Another proposal involves penalties so ferocious that people will be more frightened of the law than of giving up what they see as their families' only protection in a violent society. For the perhaps thirty million protection owners who could be expected to defy a ban, the law will require a mandatory year in prison. Beyond the moral implications of thus making war on so large a part of our society is the sheer impracticability. A year sentence for only 0.2 per cent of these probable violators would mean more than a doubling of the federal prison system. Moreover, imprisonment could only follow trial and conviction. Even if the federal courts dismissed all other civil and criminal cases, trying 0.2 per cent (or even 0.02 per cent) of the probable violators would take so long that many would end up winning motions to dismiss for failure to provide a speedy trial.

*Another proposal  
is to offer bounties for  
people to turn in their friends*



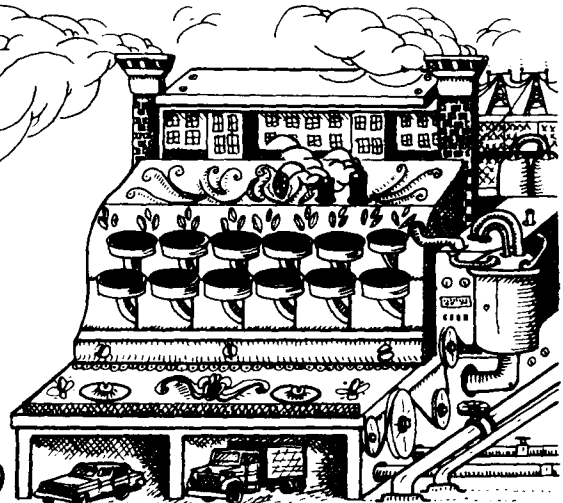
My doubts about handgun prohibition do not betoken opposition to “gun controls” in general. Prohibiting firearms to minors, the insane, and violent felons is sensible, and so are most of our other twenty thousand present federal, state, and local gun-control laws. For their own purposes, both sides in the handgun-prohibition debate make it a practice to emphasize that present controls have not stemmed American violence. Pro-gun groups proclaim this as proof that no gun controls can ever work. Conversely, anti-gun groups claim it only shows the need for total prohibition.

Of course no gun law (nor all criminal laws together) can offset the fundamental cultural, socio-economic, and institutional factors which create a violent society. Nevertheless, gun laws can be helpful. Instead of blindly enacting national prohibition we should systematically study our present controls (which, between federal and diverse state laws, include every conceivable gun law) to determine what approaches are helpful, what aren't, and why. The seminal work of this type is Bendis and Balkin's study which finds Illinois's moderate and sensible gun laws failing not because they are inherently insufficient but because they are virtually unenforced: “Based on the Chicago data it is difficult to argue that gun laws do not work or that stronger laws are needed. . . . It is very possible that if gun laws do potentially reduce gun-related crime, the present laws are all that is needed if they are enforced. What good would stronger laws do when the courts have demonstrated they will not enforce them?”

In this connection it may be remembered that last year John Hinckley was caught red-handed violating the federal ban on firearms in commercial aircraft. Had the charges not been dropped he would have been in federal prison instead of shooting the President. When we are not making even minimal efforts to enforce our present sensible controls, why should we move to a complete prohibition which all our experience shows could not be enforced however hard we tried? □

# The Politics of Reindustrialization

BRUCE BARTLETT



FOR MOST of the postwar era, the enormous productive capacity of the U.S. economy was taken for granted. People assumed that the U.S. would always have the most powerful economy in the world, providing yearly increases in the real standard of living for virtually everyone.

The issue which absorbed politicians throughout this period was not maintaining growth or stimulating it, but dividing up the pie so that those at the bottom of the economic ladder would get a larger piece. Toward this end, immense income-transfer programs were set up. Welfare spending in the U.S. increased from \$7.7 billion in 1960 to \$84.6 billion in 1978, and the number of Americans receiving government checks increased from 18.4 per cent of the population in 1960 to 30.4 per cent in 1977, with a concomitant increase in the tax burden.

On top of this, the economy had to shoulder an increasingly heavy burden of regulation—to clean up the air and water, improve energy efficiency, and increase worker safety. These regulations are estimated to cost American industry as much as \$100 billion per year.

As the Seventies drew to a close, we discovered that these cumulative burdens had begun to have an effect; the economy just wasn't working as well as it once did. Rising taxes, the diversion of capital from the private sector to the public sector, and the growing regulatory burden had noticeably reduced productivity growth and America's ability to compete in world markets.

From 1950 to 1965, productivity per worker in the U.S. increased at an average annual rate of 2.4 per cent. From 1965 to 1973, it increased by an average of only 1.6 per cent per year. And from 1973 to 1978, productivity increased by a mere 0.4 per cent per year.

In the area of trade, the U.S. saw its competitive position deteriorate dramatically. Foreign producers heavily penetrated the U.S. market while the U.S. share of the world market declined. A comparison, by the Department of La-

bor, of the United States' export performance with those of its four major competitors (France, West Germany, Japan, and the UK) in common third countries shows that of the top 17 U.S. export commodities, 14 experienced share losses in the world market between 1962 and 1969. All 17 showed losses between 1970 and 1977.

Thus a recent conference jointly sponsored by Harvard University, the New York Stock Exchange, and the Senate Subcommittee on International Trade urged that the highest immediate priority be given to increasing productivity and U.S. competitiveness.

## Drastic Reforms and Investments

The problems of productivity and competitiveness in international trade are fundamentally problems with the supply side of the economy. As economists have focused on these problems they have inevitably been drawn into advocating basically conservative economic policies. It is almost impossible to study the impact of burdensome and duplicative regulations on the economy, for example, without advocating drastic reform. And it is impossible to study the productivity problem without concluding that incentives for investment and saving are necessary. This inevitably involves tax cuts for business concerns and wealthy individuals.

In spite of the widespread consensus that the tax and regulatory burdens must be reduced so that individuals and businesses will save more and invest in new plant and equipment, nothing has yet emerged from the Congress to move us far enough in that direction.

The reason is simple: such policies run directly counter to the philosophy and programs of the dominant liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Historically, the Democratic Party has been the party of income redistribution. The Democrats achieved political success largely by taking money from corporations and individuals considered to be wealthy and giving that money to individuals considered to be poor. The idea of reversing this long-standing tradition—even if it is absolutely necessary to the survival of the economy—is offensive to many Democrats.

*Mr. Bartlett is deputy director of the Joint Economic Committee and the author of Reaganomics: Supply-Side Economics in Action, just published by Arlington House.*

However, even the liberals have found that they can no longer ignore the basic problems of declining productivity and competitiveness in international markets. Faced with the necessity of devising a program to combat these problems, they have come up with a policy of "reindustrialization," using a term coined by sociologist Amitai Etzioni, a former senior advisor to President Carter.

What does reindustrialization mean? To some it just means adopting policies to encourage greater saving and investment. In this sense, the term is quite benign. But to most people it means an activist government policy involving subsidies, loan guarantees, tariffs, and more, not less, government intrusion into the economy. As Senator William Proxmire (D., Wis.) recently noted, "There is one common denominator of all this so-called reindustrialization. Every measure would try to assist American industry. And each measure would do so by using federal resources. Reindustrialization would strengthen American business by using the federal taxing, spending, and lending power to do so."

## Why Liberals Love It

Reindustrialization thus has great attraction for liberals. It means they can both support business and believe they are doing something substantive about the nation's economic problems without having to give up any government power. "The trick would be to move a step closer to planning without losing the benefits of competition," as the *New York Times* put it. And, because most of the prime candidates for industrial aid—steel, autos, textiles—are based in the Northeast and upper Midwest where the Democratic Party has its strength, reindustrialization can also be used to advance the fortunes of Democratic candidates.

The vehicle for aiding reindustrialization that is most often discussed is re-establishment of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. New York banker Felix Rohatyn has been calling for a new RFC for years. Now, however, people appear to be listening. In August, Senators Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D., N.Y.) and Henry Jackson (D., Wash.) introduced legislation to re-establish the RFC with \$3 billion in capital and authority to borrow another \$30 billion. Its purpose would be to "serve as a lender of last resort to financially troubled businesses and municipalities, providing a safety net for them in times of fiscal crisis."

Although there was language in the legislation about forcing municipalities to straighten out their finances and aiding the liquidation of firms that cannot succeed, it is hard to see how the RFC would do anything except bail out losers at taxpayer expense. This is inevitable because well-managed companies and local governments do not need federal subsidies, while the politically appointed directors of the RFC—no matter how "independent" they may appear—would be under enormous pressure to put their aid where the votes are. In Senator Proxmire's words:

Money will go where the political power is. . . . It will go where union power is mobilized. It will go where the campaign contributors want it to go. It will go where the mayors and governors are, as well as where congressmen and senators have the power to

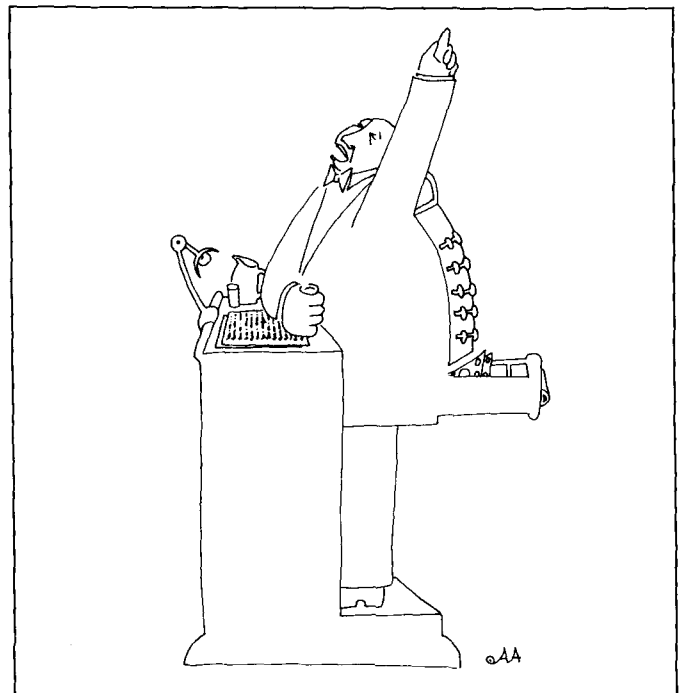
push it. Anyone who thinks government funds will be allocated to firms according to merit has not lived or served in Washington very long.

The experience with the original RFC, which was established in 1932 and liquidated in the early 1950s, confirms Proxmire's view. A Senate Banking Committee investigation in 1951, for example, showed that two of the RFC's five directors were involved in influence-peddling activities. Carl Strandlund, president and owner of the Lustron Corporation, charged that one RFC director had repeatedly tried to transfer control of the corporation to his friends and associates. Evidence also indicated that Edgar Kaiser of the Kaiser-Frazer Corporation had been approached by influence peddlers from the RFC on several occasions. Moreover, many RFC loans were made to gambling casinos, bars, breweries, and other establishments that hardly seemed to fit the criteria for aid.

The view seems to be that a new RFC would not actually subsidize business operations. However, as the Chrysler case clearly demonstrates, even if loans are made at market interest rates, an implied subsidy is involved because risk has been shifted from the private sector to government. In addition, because the total supply of capital is limited, government loans and guarantees can only redirect funds from one potential borrower to another. The effect is to raise interest rates generally as firms unable to get government aid must compete for a smaller available supply of capital.

Because capital is such a scarce commodity, a government agency with the power to control its flow can exert effective central control over much of the economy. For years, liberals have sought a means by which the Federal Government would achieve this, as in the Humphrey-Javits bill of 1975. They feel that the free market is chaotic, inefficient, and unable to achieve national goals in areas such as housing, employment, and urban development.

However, as Friedrich Hayek points out, the issue is not



whether to plan or not to plan, but who shall do the planning. As he wrote in *The Road to Serfdom*:

Implied in the argument for government planning of industrial and commercial activity is the belief that government . . . would be in a better position to predict the future needs of consumer goods, materials, and productive equipment than individual firms.

But is it really seriously contended that some government office (or worse, some politically sensitive plan-making committee) would be more likely to foresee correctly the effects of future changes in tastes, the success of some new device or technical innovation, changes in the scarcity of different raw materials, etc., or the amounts of some commodity that ought to be produced some years hence, than the producers or professional dealers of those things?

Is it really likely that a National Planning Office would have a better judgment of "the number of cars, the number of generators, and the quantities of frozen foods we are likely to require in, say, five years than Ford or General Motors, etc., and, even more important, would it even be desirable that various companies in an industry all act on the same guess? Is it not the very rationale of the method of competition that we allow those who have shown the greatest skill in forecasting to make preparations for the future?"

Hayek's view is echoed by Professor Michael Wachter of the University of Pennsylvania, who asks, "If you were sitting on a reindustrialization board, let's say, at the beginning of the 1940s, would you have thought IBM and computers were going to be winners? And more recently, would you have picked minicomputers or semiconductors?"

Nevertheless, the view persists that other countries, notably Japan, have had great success with planning, and that governments have been able to pick winners and promote them successfully. But the truth is that Japanese ministries fight among themselves, and companies fight with the government. Successful companies still have to make it on their own.

## Encouraging Saving: Japanese Way

Japan's phenomenal growth rate is due more to the fact that Japanese taxes on saving and investment are far lower than those in the United States. In Japan, for example, capital gains on the sale of securities are generally not taxed. Japanese taxpayers may elect to be taxed separately on their interest and dividends at a rate of 25 per cent, compared to the U.S., where interest and dividends may be taxed up to 70 per cent. Japan also allows a 5 to 10 per cent tax credit on dividends received. As a result, the average Japanese saves and invests far more than the average American, and the tax burden on upper-income individuals in Japan is about half what it is in the United States.

Why, then, do people continue to press for government planning under the guise of reindustrialization? One big reason is support from the business community. *Business Week* devoted an entire issue to the subject last June. Business organizations like the U.S. Industrial Council strongly support it, and throughout the country seminars and conferences are being held on reindustrialization.

This fits the historical pattern. Contrary to popular belief, businesses do not generally oppose government intervention in the economy. In almost every case, in fact, the af-

fected companies have strongly supported major regulatory programs. Railroads pushed for the Interstate Commerce Commission, banks pushed for the Federal Reserve System, and airlines pushed for the Civil Aeronautics Board. "As a rule," economist George Stigler writes, "regulation is acquired by the industry and is designed and operated primarily for its benefit."

Regulation reduces competition, and businessmen hate competition. They hate having to look over their shoulders to see what competitor may be gaining on them. They hate the uncertainty of the market and the fickle tastes of consumers. They crave stability and predictability. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, "Most corporations care much less for conservatism than they do for stability and profits under whatever rules the politicians come up with."

## Business and the 'But'

This attitude has done much to get us into the economic fix we are in today. Most businessmen, while publicly proclaiming their devotion to the free market, do so with a big "but." The "but" is usually followed by some explanation about why their situation is unique, about how their competitors are engaged in "unfair" competition, or how it is in the "national interest" for them to receive government help. Such pleas for government aid by businessmen were a constant source of irritation to former Treasury Secretary William Simon:

During my tenure at Treasury I watched with incredulity as businessmen ran to the government in every crisis, whining for handouts or protection from the very competition that has made this system so productive. I saw Texas ranchers, hit by drought, demanding government-guaranteed loans; giant milk cooperatives lobbying for higher price supports; major airlines fighting deregulation to preserve their monopoly status, giant companies like Lockheed seeking federal assistance to rescue them from sheer inefficiency; bankers, like David Rockefeller, demanding government bailouts to protect them from their ill-conceived investments; network executives, like William Paley of CBS, fighting to preserve regulatory restrictions and to block the emergence of competitive cable and pay TV. And always, such gentlemen proclaimed their devotion to free enterprise and their opposition to the arbitrary intervention into our economic life by the state. Except, of course, for their own case, which was always unique and which was justified by their immense concern for the public interest.

Thus, Henry Ford II recently remarked, "I sometimes suspect that many American capitalists actually distrust the market as much as capitalism's enemies do." And Milton Friedman has argued that businessmen and intellectuals are the major enemies of the free-enterprise system today; intellectuals because they want freedom for themselves but not for anyone else, and businessmen because they want freedom for everyone else but want government regulations and tariffs for themselves.

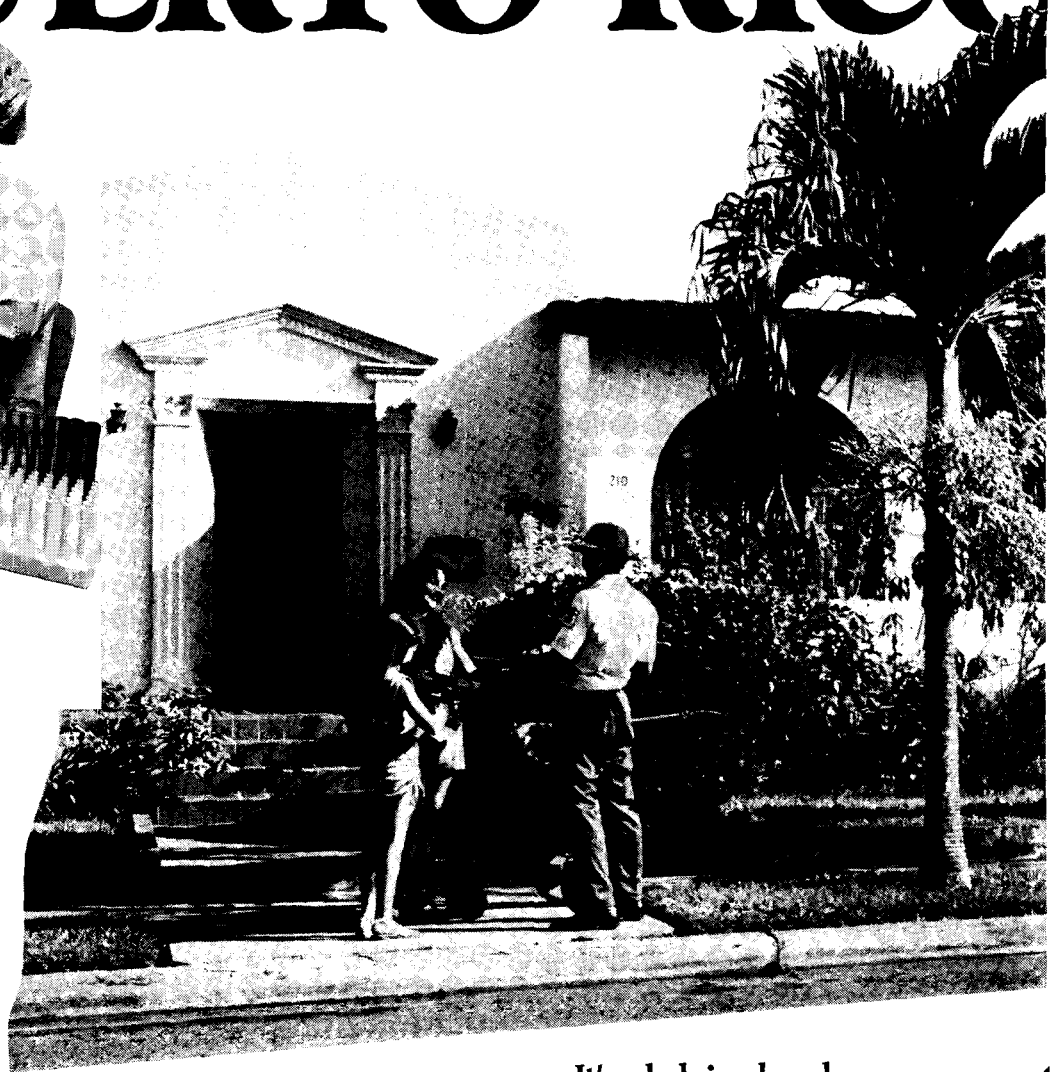
In recent months we have seen the Chrysler Corporation beg for more than a billion dollars in federal loan guarantees because of an inability to produce the kind of autos the public wants to buy. We have seen Chrysler's somewhat better-off competitors, Ford and GM, ask for restrictions on imports of Japanese autos, so they don't end up like Chrysler.

# PUERTO RICO



## It's high technology.

*Very few people are familiar with liquid chromatographic instruments. But Puerto Rico's technicians are manufacturing these complex devices every day. With flawless accuracy, they speed fluid analyses in pharmaceutical, food, and forensic labs. More than 135 plants here are devoted to electrical and electronics manufacturing.*



## It's financial energy.

*San Juan's Golden Mile is a beehive of great banks. Among them are local, mainland, and foreign institutions which provide strong financial support for over 2500 American businesses who consider Puerto Rico their ideal second home.*

## It's a helping hand to needy neighbors.

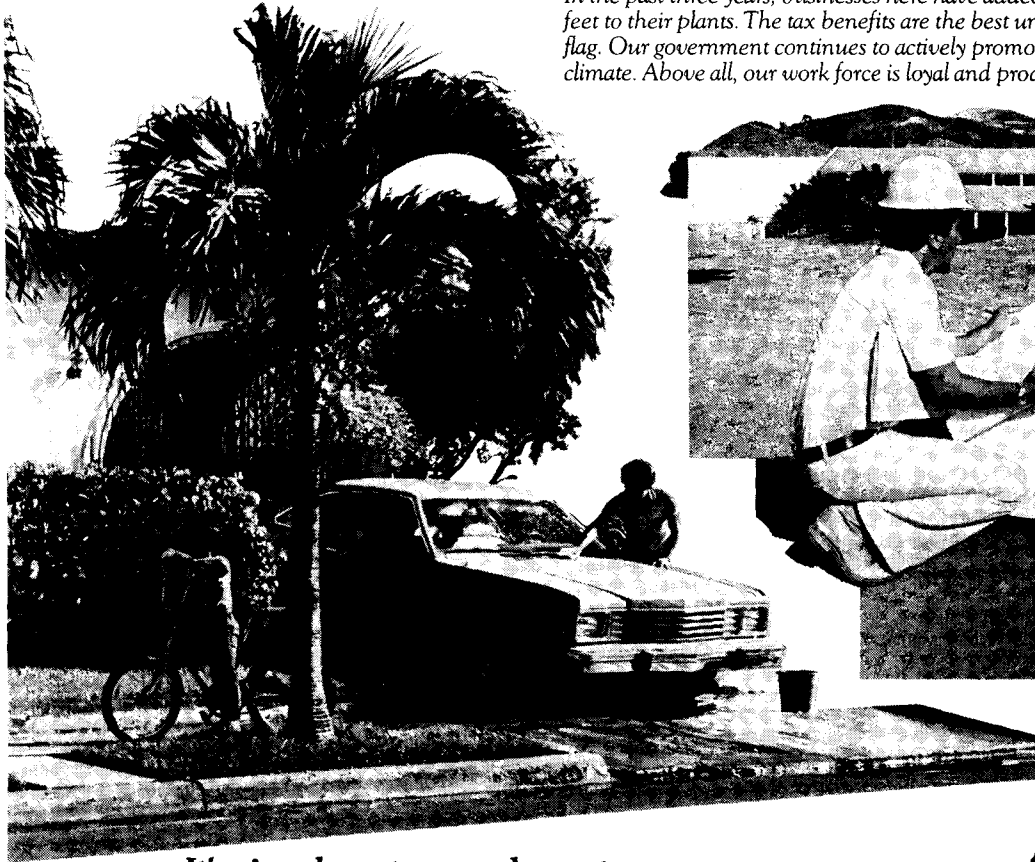
*When the Dominican Republic was devastated by Hurricane Frederick, Puerto Rico's National Guard airlifted food, stretchers, and medicines. We Americans are famous for our quick and comforting assistance to disaster victims. We share concerns with all the generosity we can afford.*



# IS AMERICA.

## It's confidence in the future.

*In the past three years, businesses here have added 2,642,000 square feet to their plants. The tax benefits are the best under the American flag. Our government continues to actively promote a pro-business climate. Above all, our work force is loyal and productive.*



## It's nice places to come home to.

*Our suburban architecture reflects Puerto Rico's Spanish heritage. The palms could never survive a Minnesota winter. Yet our weekend activities are pretty much like those in the Minneapolis suburbs. The Saturday morning car wash. Some gossip with the postman. And then a conference about that awful crabgrass.*



## It's a commitment to youth.

*Hundreds of parents, relatives, and just plain football nuts pitch in for Pee Wee football. They coach, officiate, keep statistics, manage equipment, serve as team physicians. Our season runs from January to March. And there's seldom a rainy day to dampen the spirits of these future college athletes and scholars.*



## It's deep-dish communication.

*This design-award winner in Cayey, Puerto Rico, was the prototype for Satellite Earth Stations throughout America. It's capable of handling two TV channels and 1500 simultaneous phone calls. The 10-story main antenna can also feed data and facsimiles to any point on the globe.*



# Puerto Rico, U.S.A.

The ideal second home for American Business.

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(Ford's chief economist tried to convince its management that import controls would not help in the long run, so they fired him.) We have seen U.S. Steel ask for further restrictions on imports of Japanese steel, so that U.S. consumers will be forced to buy higher-priced American steel. We have seen Weyerhaeuser push for prohibitions on logging on federal land, in order to make its private timber holdings more valuable. We have seen the railroads and truckers fight even modest deregulation. And we have seen oil shippers, small oil refiners, and other energy producers all lining up for subsidies of one kind or another.

Have businessmen opposed such actions or any of the other subsidies or special provisions in the law? Not really. Typical was the attitude of the National Association of Manufacturers, long considered the most conservative major business organization, on the Chrysler bailout: the NAM said it opposed the bailout only because the same loans were not also being made available to everyone else. "The NAM opposes Federal Government financial support for private enterprises unless the support is based on laws which have general applicability to comparable enterprises," it said. In other words, there was no philosophical opposition to the bailout. The NAM was just upset that all its members couldn't get in on the gravy train. (In fairness, the NAM's pragmatic position on the Chrysler bailout was really no different from the position of most business organizations. The only group which consistently opposes all government handouts to business as a matter of principle is the Council for a Competitive Economy, established in Washington, D.C. in 1977.)

Reindustrialization would institutionalize and universalize the Chrysler bailout. No longer would firms have to go

through the torture of justifying their case to the entire Congress. They would only have to convince a few people at the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or the Industrial Revitalization Board that their demise will wreak havoc in areas where there are lots of votes. As Murray Weidenbaum, the new Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, notes, those who believe that American reindustrialization will follow the Japanese model would do better to study the British National Economic Development Council, which has poured billions into losing enterprises over the years with no prospect that they would or could ever turn a profit. (The British case also demonstrates that unions which expect a government bailout have no incentive to make concessions regardless of how critical a firm's condition may be.)

Instead of merely wasting the taxpayers' money, the RFC may cause irreparable harm to the economy if it tries to block necessary shifts of capital and workers from dying industries and regions to growing ones. There is already a move under way to prevent companies from being able to close without giving prior notice to the government. Recent studies by the American Enterprise Institute and the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston indicate that the likely effect of such legislation would be to force government to subsidize dying businesses to keep them going, creating fewer jobs in the long run than if it had allowed capital to flow to its most efficient use.

There is no certainty that the current campaign for reindustrialization will lead us down such roads, but the danger is clear. If government really wants to aid industry, it would do better to get out of its way. With reindustrialization, industry may find that having government for a friend is worse than having it for an enemy. □

## Funversation: President Reagan and Uncle Sam

*President Reagan:* Well, Sam, I made it.

*Uncle Sam:* Yeah . . . finally. Now, don't fail to parade it.

*President Reagan:* You mean honest, efficient, limited executing?

*Uncle Sam:* Yes. But, even before that, a sentiment suiting The times, which I judge to be Ready again for liberty Without license, Ron.

*President Reagan:* Tricky thing that: balancing each pro and con Of a thing.

*Uncle Sam:* Well, you wanted the job. You weren't satisfied with acting;

Went around giving The Speech.

That'll teach

You.

*President Reagan:* Yes, I suppose that I do Have the habit of exercising my vocal cords.

*Uncle Sam:* Just remember: the Lord's

Prayer is a 68-word flawless gem.

And that the two most powerful words in the language total only five letters. I refer to yes and no. Use them.

And make them stick.

*President Reagan:* You make enormous sense. You're my pick

For Secretary of Common Sense, Sam.

*Uncle Sam:* I thought nobody would ever ask. Am I invited to Cabinet meetings with all those big shots?

*President Reagan:* Absolutely. With Bush, Haig, Regan, Weinberger, Smith, and lots

Of other bright guys. Just stand behind my chair and whisper in my ear

Any common sense you think I should hear.

*Uncle Sam:* I'm portfolioed at last! Mr. President, I thank you.

*President Reagan:* Glad to do it. And you can live at the White House, too. Will the Lincoln Bedroom do?

*Uncle Sam:* Great, if you're sure Nancy won't mind. I'll just have

NATIONAL REVIEW change my address to 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

—JOHANNES EFF

# Abroad

## Peking

### *The Face of Hunger*

For the first time in its history, Communist China has appealed to an international body to help alleviate widespread hunger. A team of experts from the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) recently concluded a survey of eight provinces and was reportedly shocked to find living conditions far worse than was generally believed abroad. Last year, floods and droughts in different parts of the country caused shortages so severe that China now has to import large amounts of grain from the West to keep the population up to acceptable standards of nourishment. Peking has asked for four and a half million tons of wheat from FAO, fully half the entire annual amount the organization disposes of. The last serious food shortage took place in the early Sixties, largely the result of the collectivization of agriculture which was part of Mao Tse-tung's "Great Leap Forward." According to some reports, the FAO experts were surprised to discover that living standards in the People's Republic were hardly equal to those prevailing in India. Peking had said recently that the annual per-capita income of the Chinese was only \$256; but this was thought an exaggeration on the low side made in order to obtain an FAO loan, and most foreign economists put the per-capita income closer to \$350. But now these experts believe that Peking was telling the truth. In many regions, they reported, the people are living below the 1,200-calories-a-day bar, a figure which represents the absolute minimum.

## London

### *Good Checks*

Old bank checks are the latest thing in collecting. The first old-check auction in history was held here the other day, and its 570 lots netted a total of £12,500 (\$27,500). The top item was a check for £50 drawn on Clayton and Morris of Cornhill in 1664, which brought a winning bid of £260 (\$572). Two American checks, drawn in 1782 on "The Bank"—as the Bank of North America, the only one in existence in the United States at that time, was known—brought £120 (\$264) each. The majority of the lots, either groups of checks or singles, went for around £10 (\$22), so this branch of collecting is still open to the modest purse. Check collecting, called the poor man's notaphily, centers on drawn and cashed checks, although some people prefer the pristine check forms which have never been used. And there's already a comprehensive paperback guide on the subject of these period financial instruments.

## Kuala Lumpur

### *Counterinsurgency*

Fears of another major struggle between China and Vietnam following the upheavals in Cambodia have prompted Malaysia to initiate substantial increases in its defense forces. The Malaysian military authorities do not expect direct attack so much as guerrilla infiltration across the Thai border or counterinsurgency of a similar sort. According to a new five-year plan, the government will increase defense spend-

ing by 25 per cent, to over \$4 billion. By 1985, the armed forces will have doubled, to 250,000 men. The Malaysians plan to buy new weapons, including fighters (probably American Skyhawks), tanks, anti-insurgent attack helicopters, and patrol boats, and to build additional military bases throughout the country. Meanwhile plans are also being laid to improve the economic status of the Malay population, which is politically powerful but which has been eclipsed in the business sector by Malaysian Chinese as well as by foreign companies.

## Tokyo

### *In Another Country*

For the Japanese, dislike of foreign students in their midst doesn't come quickly: only after they learn the language. This has come to light as the result of recent soundings taken by social psychologists here. "Japanese deal in a very friendly manner with foreigners who can't speak Japanese," the researchers said. "But they feel threatened by foreigners who can, and tend to keep them at a distance." The finding appeared to be confirmed by foreign students themselves. For a short time after their arrival, they regarded their hosts favorably. But eight months later, they were calling them "childish," "prejudiced," and "hard to get along with." Their views that the Japanese are industrious and "very competitive," formed at the outset, did not however change at all in that time.

## Manila

### *Motoring*

Cardinal Jaime Sin is the head of the Catholic Church in the Philippines, and during the recent visit of Pope John Paul II, the strains that afflict it became evident. The Cardinal finds himself placed between an authoritarian government and groups of liberal clerics who agitate in favor of civil rights and against conditions like the martial law of recent years. Of the liberal groups, Cardinal Sin says: "They are the accelerator of the car of the Church, others are the brake. If there is only a brake, the car doesn't go. If there is only an accelerator, it bangs against the wall. I am the driver."



Langdon, Punch

Rothco

"Oui, c'est ici le Parlement de l'Europe. Ils sont tous en Afrique."

# helo



"Sorry. I forgot to put the lid on the food processor."



## Feeling Drafty

In '43 I went to war,  
But it was not till '44  
That basic training fashioned me  
For fighting in the infantry.  
When things go *Boom!* tomorrow, I'm  
Afraid the boys won't have much time.

W. H. VON DREELE



Langdon, *Punch*

Rothco

"Okay, okay—so in future I ask, 'Ducks or Presidents?'"



Holland, *London Daily Telegraph*

Rothco

"In my day it was called an 'East of Suez presence.'"



## Too Little but Not Too Late

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

SOMETHING HAS gone wrong with "the Thatcher experiment" in Britain. That much is evident, not least to Mrs. Thatcher and her colleagues. A government which was elected, above all, to reduce the burden of public expenditure is now spending a greater proportion of the nation's income than before. Taxation, instead of being cut, has just been increased again. The money supply, which was supposed to be the key to controlling inflation, has appeared to be out of control.

Inflation, admittedly, is coming down. The rate is now about what it was when Mrs. Thatcher came to office. At that time the seeds of accelerating inflation had been sown by the pre-election extravagance of the Labor government: now the rate should continue to fall—but this is at least partly because world recession has squeezed wages and prices in the private sector. Public-sector price increases are three times as high.

### What Went Wrong

It was extremely sensible of President Reagan's budget director to order an immediate study "to find out where Mrs. Thatcher went wrong." Nobody in Britain resented that piece of news, or the flying visit to London made by representatives of the House Budget Committee. The White House may have felt a tremor of embarrassment when Treasury Secretary Donald Regan criticized the British government's economic failure while Mrs. Thatcher was actually in America, getting on fulsomely well with President Reagan: but what he said was both true and relevant. Precisely because the Reagan Administration and the Thatcher administration hold such similar economic theories, it is important to discover what has gone wrong in practice.

British Conservatives have been asking the same question. Their disagreement about the answer is itself part of

the answer. More than half Mrs. Thatcher's cabinet, including most of the political heavyweights, have never been fully reconciled to her leadership. They either ran against her or voted against her in the leadership contest. They find her irritatingly dictatorial: she regards them as "wet." They do not believe in, or even understand, Friedmanite economics. Weaned on the compromises of earlier postwar Conservative governments, they have no stomach for inflexible policies or open confrontation. Of course they disapprove of too much inflation, very high taxes, and excessive trade-union power, but they wouldn't put their political lives on the line in order to fight against these evils.

Mrs. Thatcher included them in her cabinet because their presence conferred on her, the newcomer, a sort of legitimacy, and because she reckoned they were less dangerous in than out. The result has been a divided cabinet, which has constantly blocked or blurred the policies which Mrs. Thatcher and the "monetarists" on her Treasury team wished to pursue. The proposed spending cuts were whittled down last autumn to only half what they should have been.

Because government spending and borrowing therefore remained so high, the annual budget proposals which were announced in March—and which, unlike other major policy decisions, are not discussed by the cabinet in advance but are devised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Prime Minister alone—put up various taxes and did virtually nothing, directly, to ease the rigors of recession. The "wet" cabinet ministers promptly leaked their discontent. They would have thought more about people, they suggested, and less about economics. They would have primed the pump to create jobs and get industry moving. They would (although they didn't put it that way) have inflated.

Mrs. Thatcher responded with a characteristically tigerish outburst. "What really gets me," she told an audience of

businessmen, "is that those who are most critical of the extra taxes are those who are most vociferous in demanding extra spending. I think one of the most immoral things you can do is to pose as the moral politician demanding more for health, more for education, more for housing, more for everything, and then, when you see the bill, say, 'No, no, I didn't mean you to pay taxes for it. I meant us to borrow more.'"

Taxation was being raised, she went on, to pay for higher public spending. "Paying for it by taxation is the moral way. Paying for it by debasing the currency and people's savings is the immoral way."

But what outrages a different sector of the Conservative Party is that public spending should be so high. One of Mrs. Thatcher's principal economic ministers has frankly said, and she herself would not disagree, that their first year in office was wasted. They made no real attack on public spending. The budget brought in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer a few weeks after the election reduced the highest rates of income tax and just trimmed the medium rates—but simultaneously increased the value-added tax to collect the same amount of money. The burden was simply moved from one shoulder to another, and yet that was supposed to be a great tax-cutting budget. Months later Mrs. Thatcher was still talking about the possibility of perhaps making slight cuts in some fields of public expenditure.

### Out of Control

Meanwhile, actual spending grew so fast that last year's "public-sector borrowing requirement" (which is a polite term for government overspending) was 80 per cent more than had been officially predicted. According to the Treasury, 50 per cent of this overspending was attributable to the recession, which diminishes tax revenue while increasing welfare costs. The other 50 per cent presumably was, or should have been, within the government's control.

The salaries of civil servants went up far more than was economically justified: and an attempt to curb them this

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*Mr. Lejeune is NR's London correspondent.*

year has precipitated a wave of strikes, deliberately aimed at crippling the processes of government. Huge new subsidies have been poured into the money-losing nationalized car manufacturer, British Leyland, and into the nationalized railroads and airlines, and into the nationalized steel industry. Threatened strikes by the coal miners against the closure of uneconomic pits, and by workers in the water industry for more pay, were bought off at enormous cost; surrenders which have convinced the public-sector unions, more than ever, that they are invincible.

## The Worker as Baron

One member of the government, allegedly with Mrs. Thatcher's approval, made no bones about it. Certain key groups of workers were, he said, virtually outside the law, like medieval barons. That was a fact of life.

The implications should, perhaps, have been spelled out even more clearly to the electorate. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might have labeled each tax rise: "Fourpence on beer—to pay for British Leyland; 14 pence on cigarettes—to subsidize the steel industry; twenty pence on petrol—to buy off the miners'

strike; sixty pence on whisky—to cover the civil servants' pay increase."

Curbing the power of the unions was another prime item in this government's election platform, and is another objective from which it has notably wobbled away. One of the wettest of Mrs. Thatcher's wet ministers, James Prior, has been in charge of drafting legislation on the subject. The closed shop and most union immunities remain untouched. There have been some outrageous cases lately of people losing their jobs for refusing to join public-service unions, and the government has been put in the position of having actually to defend the closed shop before the European Human Rights Court.

The unions are not alone, however, in opposing and sabotaging the government's economic policy. Big business, always a weak element when the going gets rough, has also been clamoring for relaxation. The civil servants have fought against any squeeze which might affect them. Perhaps most important of all, the municipal authorities, especially those which are militantly socialist, have tended to ignore pleas for economy. Rather than reduce their activities to any significant degree, they have borrowed more, increased property taxes, and soaked up grants from the central

government. Throughout the public sector there has been an active campaign against cuts in spending, which are always presented as threatening nursery schools, casualty departments, and old people's homes. Administrative fat and the featherbedding of manual labor are the last things to be touched.

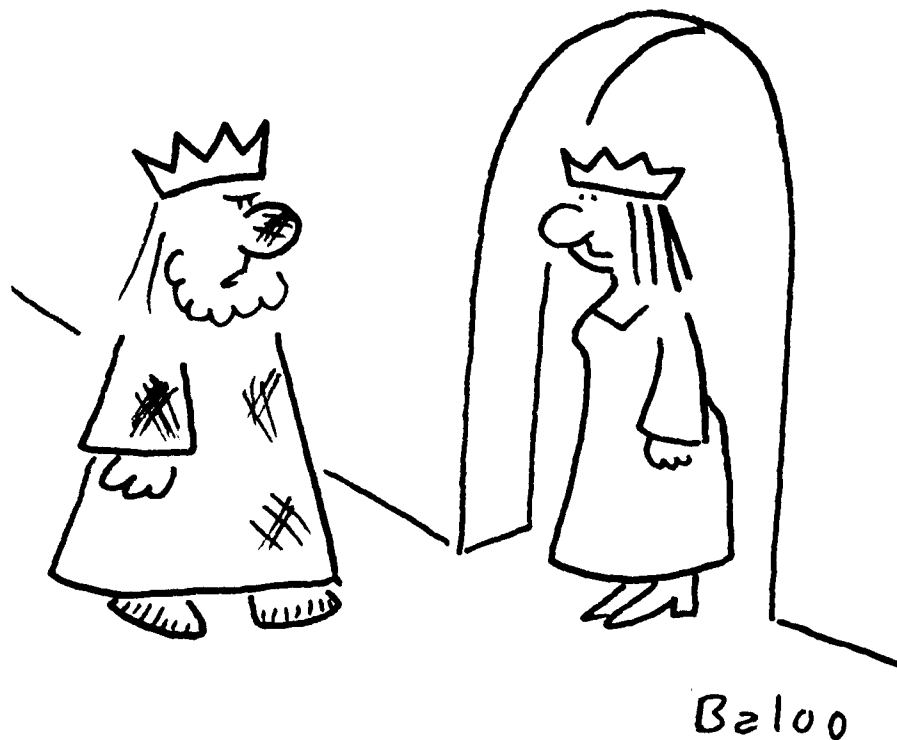
Mrs. Thatcher and her Treasury ministers greatly underestimated the political difficulty—and, as far as controlling the money supply was concerned, the technical difficulty—of putting their theories into practice. A House of Commons committee recently prefaced its strictures by observing (without disapproval, merely as a fact) that there had, so far, been "no monetary experiment." The theory, as Chesterton said about Christianity, has not been tried and found wanting: it has been found difficult and not tried.

## Something for the 'Wets'

To accuse this government of ruthlessly causing unemployment and bankruptcies for the sake of a mad professor's ideology, as its sillier opponents do, is not only vulgar abuse but a vulgar mistake. It is nevertheless true that, for the sake of her economic policy, however attenuated, Mrs. Thatcher has been prepared to sacrifice short-term popularity and, as a kind of informal quid pro quo, has allowed other spheres of policy to be dominated by her "wet" colleagues.

Instinctively she would prefer to take a much tougher line with the unions, but she has let Mr. Prior have his head. She was unhappy about betraying the Rhodesians, but she let Lord Carrington, the Foreign Secretary, talk her into it; just as the Foreign Office now would like to give South West Africa to SWAPO. Thatcherite Conservatives are much more concerned than the "wets" about individual freedom, but there is really only one respect in which the British people are freer now than they were when Mrs. Thatcher was elected: the complete removal of exchange controls was a fine step, which previous Conservative governments had shirked and which the wets still thought too dangerous. Unfortunately there has been no other like it.

The advice being given now by fashionable commentators is that, since the



"Oh, I fell down on the Blasted Heath!"

government has not in fact been pursuing hard-line or right-wing policies, it should take more credit for softness and moderation. If public money is going to be poured out on lame ducks, why not appear generous rather than grudging? On this view, Mrs. Thatcher's celebrated crack that "the lady's not for turning" was politically unwise; flexibility would be more attractive.

Certainly she is not emollient or subtle. She lectures both opponents and colleagues, and rarely lets interviewers get a word in edgewise. Those who found

her annoying before the election find her quite intolerable now. The arguments in favor of her policy—which are intellectually strong—could be presented more persuasively. On the other hand, her remarkable courage and determination, the impression that she is still the best man in the cabinet, are probably her greatest political assets. She is gambling for high stakes. Success, within the two and a half or three years before the next election comes, will justify her: failure will be irredeemable. There are plenty of knives waiting for her back,

although there is no obvious Conservative successor.

Ronald Reagan is not Margaret Thatcher. Their styles of leadership and their personal problems are very different. The economic problems too, as the White House has been quick to stress, are different—but not entirely. There are indeed lessons to be learned from Mrs. Thatcher's experience; lessons which she failed to learn in advance, although the pressures and adverse winds which blew her government off course were amply predicted. □

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## The Open Question

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### *Did Cora Weiss Suggest at the Riverside Church that U.S. Agents Were Responsible for the Shooting of the Nuns?*

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In your April 3 issue's Guest Editorial by Edward Haskell, there is a quote attributed to Cora Weiss which is incorrect.

The correct quote, which is verifiable by both audio and videotape, is as follows:

"We are here to ask the truth about America's new Vietnam in Latin America: who killed the nine thousand Salvadorans, Bishop Romero, and the four American women?"

"Is it true that the U.S. had sent in a five-man Army 'operational and planning assistance team' without congressional authorization after giving \$11 million in military aid this year? American blood had to spill to stop the flow of new military aid."

Sincerely,  
Katherine Littlewood  
Promotion & Publicity Coordinator  
The Disarmament Program  
The Riverside Church  
New York, N.Y.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In response to your letter of April 3 I have conducted a search for an unedited tape of Cora Weiss's speech at Riverside Church's "Evening for Peace" last December 7. My results thus far are as follows:

The *For Our Times* program at CBS has one. But I was told by a staff member, Lauren Belfer, that it is their policy to let no one see or hear it. However, if you can persuade them to make an exception I will be glad to do so.

The Riverside Church's version of the tape is not promising: On March 31 the Reverend William Sloane Coffin Jr. called me to his office. When I had been kept waiting the standard twenty minutes he asked me in and demanded that I retract my quotation of Cora Weiss in NATIONAL REVIEW:

"Did the United States slip in a team that murdered the four nuns [in San Salvador]?"

I answered, "No, I will not. I was there and wrote what she said. I wrote it partly in shorthand."

"You are bearing false witness!" Coffin shouted.

I answered, "*You* are bearing false witness."

He then took me to his secretary in the next room and we repeated our performance with her as witness.

Since Mr. Coffin has phoned you, denied that Cora Weiss uttered those words, and requested that you ask me to listen to his tape, I naturally infer that her statement has been deleted. I therefore refuse to waste my time listening to it. We all remember Watergate.

I listened to the CBS national broadcast of Riverside's "Evening for Peace" on March 1 and noted that the statement in question had been deleted from it. But, as I said, CBS has an unedited version of it. And that's the one I will consent to see and hear.

Meanwhile I have found one witness and expect to find more soon.

Very sincerely yours,  
Edward F. Haskell

Chairman  
Council for Unified Research and Education  
New York, N.Y.

■ EDITOR'S NOTE: I called CBS. The responsible official reiterated CBS's policy of denying to anyone a review of the "outtakes," i.e., material recorded but not publicly used. The official informally advised me that the words quoted in the letter from Katherine Littlewood do indeed show up in the CBS tape. We are left to reach our own conclusion whether Mr. Haskell was justified in inferring what he wrote from what Cora Weiss said.

—WFB

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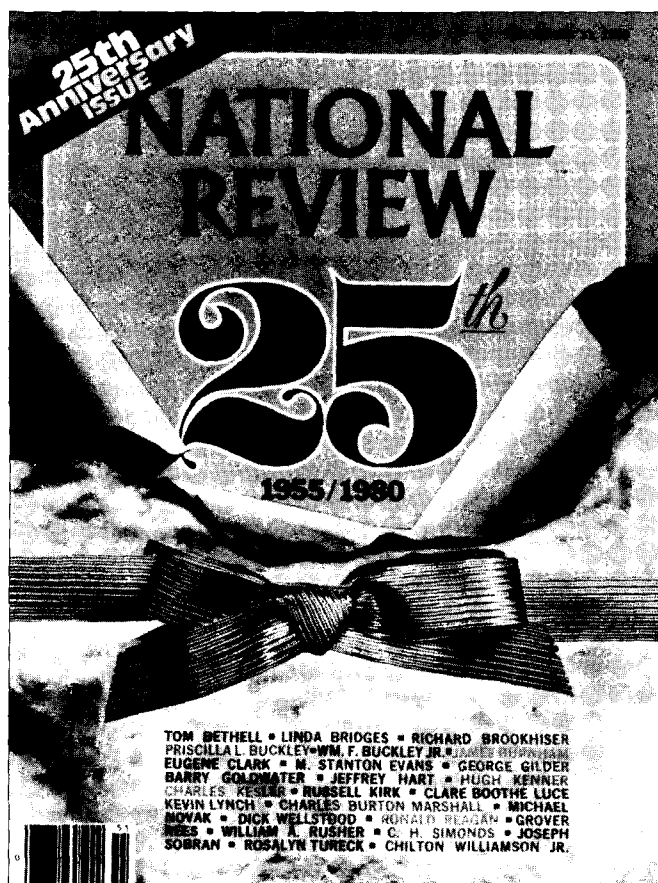
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## Sea Change

RICHARD BROOKHISER

AIRCRAFT CARRIERS are huge: that is a description endorsed by friends and foes. The Navy's fact sheets proudly list the vital statistics—room for 95 airplanes; a four-and-a-half-acre flight deck; thirty-ton anchors hung from chains forged of 365-pound links—while the Navy's critics, particularly adherents of the so-called "military reform" school (see "The Week," March 6), use dinosaur metaphors and adjectives like "vulnerable."

Yet as one stands on the bridge of the *U.S.S. Nimitz*, hugeness is the last thing that comes to mind. From that vantage, a carrier is a triumph of miniaturization. Its airplanes do not simply take off and land; there is not enough room for that. They must be flung out and grabbed down. Steam pressure launches them, three hundred gallons' worth at a shot, forced through a pair of parallel cylinders—shotgun barrels—between and along which the planes are hooked and propelled. A cable strung across the deck catches them—catches them, that is, only if the pilots themselves catch the cable with hooks that dangle from the tails of their planes. These rendezvous occur at 180 knots. (At that speed, four and a half acres must look like a throw rug.) A carrier like the *Nimitz* can launch one plane every thirty seconds, land one every 45 (the interval between landings rises at night to a minute and a half). Twenty yards below this activity, two combers curl out. One heads for Norfolk, the other rolls toward Morocco.

The *Nimitz* sailed for her third Mediterranean cruise in September 1979. During the Iranian crisis, she spent three months in the Indian Ocean (the helicopters of the ill-fated rescue mission took off from the *Nimitz*). The *Nimitz's* battle group returned to Norfolk last May. Recent weeks have been spent on less exotic operations—training pilots; playing host to a tour of writers and other civilians arranged by the Council on Foreign Relations.

The impression of littleness that a carrier gives is an optical illusion; the impression of complexity is not. As weapons have increased in range and effectiveness, the means of guiding and controlling them have necessarily become more complicated. Tactics reflect technology. A *Victory at Sea*-type battle—armored floating fortresses blasting away at each other—is as obsolete as battering rams and boarding parties. The emphasis is on evasion, detection, and surprise; gunnery has become missilery. "The point," said Captain Dennis Read of the nuclear-powered cruiser *Arkansas*, "is to hit it before it hits us." "The first shot on target," Commander Philip Coady of the destroyer *Conolly* agreed, "wins the war." In these circumstances, acquiring and digesting information becomes one of a ship's most important tasks. Each ship in a battle group bristles with sensors; carrier-based early warning aircraft, of which the E-2C Hawkeye is the most recent, extend the "vision" of the ships even further. The information they collect runs through computer brains, which interpret it for human brains in dark, green-consoled rooms out of *The Empire Strikes Back*. "Symbolology" is the name some malinspired wordsmith fashioned for what the computers display, because symbols are what is left after the raw radar blips have passed through a machine which "knows" the electronic signature of everything that flies, floats, or dives. The time lag between the raw signal, incidentally, and its conversion into symbolology is zero.

As systems become more sophisticated, so must the men who run them, and the Navy, like all the other services, is having trouble attracting and keeping the right kind of men. Most of the officers who addressed the question were resignedly optimistic: "Young kids are taking on more responsibility than they're trained to take," said Captain Dick Macki, executive officer of the *Nimitz*, "and they're doing it well." Not

all of them, however. Too many recruits are "faced with trying to learn skills they don't have the intelligence to learn," said Captain Vernon Smith of the *Mount Whitney*, a command and communications ship. "There was a time when I had the authority to discharge someone with a GCT [a military intelligence test score] of 42 or less. Now I would pay you for a GCT of 42."

Drugs are a problem. Captain Macki was proud of the *Nimitz's* drug program, and said his commanding officer was "very hard on drugs." Still, "we have drugs on board. We certainly reflect the general situation." On the *Mount Whitney*, Captain Smith had handed out in 1980 alone drug-related penalties adding up to more than six years.

THE WORST problem, however, is the shortage of middle-ranking, non-commissioned officers—in the Navy, petty officers. (See also "The Major's View," March 6.) In this crucial range, pay scales hit a plateau. Between 1972 and 1980, we were told, petty officers lost between 26 and 40 per cent of their purchasing power. The Navy now calculates that it is short twenty thousand senior petty officers. This attrition exacerbates the difficulties of training and leading today's recruits. It also puts a strain on all those fancy control rooms. A man with ten years' technical experience may make \$13,000 a year. Granted, the Navy picks up some of the expenses he would pay as a civilian (grant also that he works longer hours in worse conditions than civilians do). Still the fact remains that there are civilian employers who would be willing to double or triple his salary. Officer after officer said he spent increasing amounts of time persuading his senior petty officers to resist these temptations.

Admiral Harry Train II commands the Atlantic fleet, to which the *Nimitz*, *Arkansas*, *Conolly*, and *Mount Whitney* are assigned, and he discussed the strategic situation. Not all of it was grim. Routine fleet exercises have been shifted from the East Coast to the Caribbean, increasing our presence there; Admiral Train credits the Navy's disaster relief after Hurricane Frederick flattened Dominica with pulling that mini-state out of the Cuban orbit. He also has no doubt

(Continues on page 572)

## LETTER FROM DRESDEN

# An East German Interlude

ALISTAIR HORNE

I ALWAYS WANTED to visit Dresden to see the fabulous treasures which that remarkable Baroque monarch, Augustus the Strong, had collected there (plus 354 bastards), much of which has miraculously survived the day of shame of February 1945. Finally, accompanying two West Germans, who were to provide some useful counterpoints, I set off through the Berlin Wall.

Each time one sees that sinister coral, the Wall still shocks. It is, I am told—with the possible exception of that other monument to man's beastliness, the line of trenches of World War I—about the only creation of the twentieth century that could be seen from another planet. Certainly it is aggressively visible to all incoming aircraft, its minefields and beaten death-zone snaking endlessly into the distance. When I first saw it, East German industry had triumphantly capped it with sewer-piping, just to prevent any would-be escapee who actually reached it from even getting his hands over. With typical West Berlin humor, wooden towers had been erected for tourists to stare back in derision at the Vopos in their machine-gun turrets a few yards away across the Wall, and hundreds of rabbits had insouciantly turned the death strip into a Watership Down. Now the Vopos have been replaced by robot guns (a 22-year-old escapee was shot down shortly before we crossed over), and even the poor bunnies seem to have been dispatched.

The true face of Communism—of which the Boat People are but another profile—the Wall somehow conditions all entry into the DDR. It makes it at once more ominous and more trying to visit than any other Eastern Bloc country I know. From observation, it seems consciously to be made even more irksome for West Germans to enter than for lesser breeds; despite the fact that the millions of hard-currency Deutschmarks (DMs) they bring in at an ab-

surd rate of exchange must virtually keep the DDR's rickety economy afloat.

First of all, four pages of bossy instructions dictate what you may not import: "calendars, almanacs and diaries, stamps and stamp catalogues"; records ("unless works of the cultural heritage," whatever that may mean); newspapers ("unless on the postal list of the DDR"); books "whose content is aimed against the preservation of peace"; children's toys "of a military character"; films "whose content is hostile to the Socialist State" (by some amazing attempt at augury, this also includes unexposed film). Meanwhile, the copious list of banned exports revealingly covered most foodstuffs and textiles.

SO MUCH for the spirit of Helsinki and Ostpolitik. Subserviently we left our *Vogues* and *Country Lives* in a locker in the West Berlin airport. At the frontier we waited an hour (apparently, a very good day), submitting to various checks and form-filing, while a disembodied hand (possibly female) grabbed our passports through a slot in a wooden box. A perfect Le Carré setting, I was thinking, when—as we sat in that grim No Man's Land—my traveling companion inquired sweetly and with superlative timing, "Tell me, were you ever a spy?" The question being, strangely, not on the declaration form, I expected the alarms to ring and robot guns to start firing at us through that wooden slot. But, mysteriously, we were waved through, and into the Socialist paradise.

We stopped first at Potsdam, and Sans Souci. The railings were rusting away unchecked, the lawns looked as if they hadn't been mown since the death of Frederick the Great, and birch trees were growing out of the roof of the New Palace. For 45 minutes we queued to get in; allegedly because of a shortage of felt *Pantoffeln* for walking on the parquet, but more likely, I was to

reflect later, because queuing is—apart from skiing—the national sport in a country which offers precious few other distractions. At Potsdam, and everywhere else, there are hordes of khaki-clad Russian troops, photographing each other. We note how they and the East German soldiery in *Feldgrau* give each other a wide berth, like rival gangs at school. At Wittenberg alone, we were told that, "protecting" this town where Luther nailed up his 95 theses, there were forty thousand Soviet "allies"—or three times the total British troops in Ulster. Unlike in Poland, the Russians have made no effort to keep a low profile; here, one has the sense of the conquerer still flaunting himself—35 years on.

The next shock comes with the first sight of Dresden. It didn't feel good to be English. Even now the traces of that one night in February 1945, when 35,000 were killed, show up worse than one had ever imagined. How little seems to have been restored in 35 years, and how appallingly shoddy is the new! The fire-blackened towers of Augustus's Schloss still gape open at the top, resembling obscene skulls from a cartoon by George Grosz. Our hotel stands at the top of the pride of "new" Dresden, the Pragerstrasse. It is an architectural nightmare. Where the old medieval heart of Dresden once stood rise acres of uniform square blocks with balconies of corrugated plastic stitched on, such as you see on the poorest outskirts of Paris. Down below on a long parvis with checkered squares, broken up by a few undistinguished fountains, drab figures move aimlessly as if motivated by hidden magnets. It is infinitely depressing; an encapsulation of the combined horrors of our century—senseless destruction and soulless reconstruction.

The state of unrestored Dresden takes me back to my memories of Berlin and Cologne as they were when I first went to West Germany in the early Fifties; the same gaunt ruins, the same weed-covered empty spaces. And the people: the same sallow faces stamped with undernourishment and over-stress; the

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*Mr. Horne is the author of many books, his latest being A Savage War of Peace, the story of the Algerian war. He is now working on a biography of Harold Macmillan.*

dung-colored clothes of inferior material. The sparse traffic, too, belongs to that unreconstructed West Germany of a generation ago; the putt-putting, tatty two-stroke cars, incrementing a pollution problem obviously gigantic by Western standards, and equally tinted in sallow shades of grey to ochre.

Down in the Hotel Neva (note the name) a friendly native points out warningly the closed-circuit TV cameras; "But the rooms aren't bugged!" A big plus-mark; everybody is incredibly friendly—embarrassingly so, considering that the DDR is celebrating its thirtieth birthday by introducing new laws to impose up to 12 years' jail on any citizens passing disparaging information to Westerners, even if no secrets are involved.

**S**TORIES had a certain consistency. In a long queue at a miserably provisioned supermarket, shoppers complained aloud about the worsening economic crisis and soaring prices. They were queuing for a few dispirited tomatoes and already resignedly anticipating another season of no fresh vegetables. Yet, all agreed that "at least we're the best off materially of the Eastern Bloc countries." Looking at the shop windows of Pragerstrasse, that was hard to credit. By the preposterously artificial rate of exchange which puts the DDR Mark at par with the DM, consumer goods seem to cost roughly the same as in the Federal Republic, though they are of far inferior quality, while equivalent wages might be perhaps only a quarter as high.

What was most missing, then? Why freedom, of course. One Dresdener defined it in words that Ernie Bevin might have used: "To get in a train and go anywhere you please, not just to Rumania or Bulgaria." As a young man he had traveled widely (presumably with the Wehrmacht); but his children could go nowhere, except Rumania and Bulgaria (and the former, now, presumably only by bicycle).

That night I heard on Leipzig radio a nauseatingly treacly voice sing: . . . *On a Sunday in Avignon, / There is all loneliness gone, . . . / So come with me to Avignon . . .* But how? My Dresdener was additionally unlucky; he could not even receive TV from the West, though 80 per cent of the DDR can. A friendly

Wittenberger, born under Nazism and grown up in Marxism, told me with glistening eyes how he had lived for each installment of the West German version of *Upstairs, Downstairs*.

How could this seemingly listless populace ever be sparked into winning all those Olympic medals, all those engineering contracts in the Third World? By endless exhortation, I concluded. Everywhere the slogans and propaganda shout at you. One restaurant displayed a kindergarten-like chart giving each waitress good-conduct marks; at another, a photo of Rosa Kleb beamed out over the inscription, "This Month's Best Co-Worker." In the museums they never miss the big-bass-drum about the wicked Anglo-Americans blasting Dresden and the culture-loving Russians saving and restoring all those pictures (which, indeed, have been superbly restored, as has the partly destroyed Zwinger—one of Europe's Baroque marvels). At Meissen a magnificent set of 1740 porcelain bears the "social" explanation—"Many had to work hard so that the select few could enjoy pleasure at table."

As we rattled back over neglected roads to return to the rich and beautiful life, thinking that the Trades Union Congress should be invited to hold their

next annual conference here, my companion remarked glumly, "These aren't Germans—they've partly gone Russian." And yet, despite the Wall, to the outsider those blood ties still seem awfully strong. One could not help wondering what would happen should any remote reversal in the Heartland ever cause those khaki hordes round Potsdam and Wittenberg to decamp and go home.

Back in Berlin, our car was waved away at Checkpoint Charlie; no West German number plates. On to the Heinrich Heine crossing point; car OK, but no British passports. So I am dumped back to cross Checkpoint Charlie on foot, feeling uncomfortably like the spy who was not coming in out of the cold. A surly Vopo lieutenant growled at me, "But where's your car? It's written down in your papers." That was too much; I lost my temper and bellowed back like a true Prussian. To my amazement the Wall parted and I was out. An hour later my companions picked me up, the petrol tank having been searched for an escaping dwarf. They had also found nowhere to change their worthless remaining East Marks; instead of the one for one they had paid, they were forced to accept one for five in West Berlin. The Wall had exacted one last toll. □



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THE PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY

# Natural Law And The Reagan Revolution

LINDA BRIDGES

I'M NO POLITICAL philosopher, but then the Philadelphia Society doesn't meet in Philadelphia, so I guess that's all right.

Actually, it may be more than all right. For while intellectual qualifications abound among the membership, it would appear that the *main* qualification is that one appreciate why it is called the Philadelphia Society. In the late Ben Rogge's succinct explanation: "It is called the Philadelphia Society because its annual meetings are always held in Chicago."

This year—to the delight of the traditionalist contingent—the corner of Chicago chosen for "deepening the intellectual foundation of a free and ordered society" was the lovely and venerable Drake Hotel, which became, for a couple of days in April, the gathering place of some 240 writers, economists, teachers, philosophers, lawyers, activists—conservatives, libertarians, classical liberals, and undoubtedly a nineteenth century Tory or two.

Proceedings began Friday afternoon with a leisurely check-in and cocktail session presided over leisurely but efficiently by Don and Norma Lipsett. As a first-timer at the Philadelphia Society, I had the fun of matching up faces with long-familiar by-lines, as well as catching up on gossip, mainly political, with old friends—Who's doing what in the Administration or on Capitol Hill? (It is reported that one friend of ours, a newly appointed bureaucrat, already has his staff referring to Health and Human Services as H<sub>2</sub>S.) Shop talk: "How's your circulation doing since the election?" "Great—how's yours?" "Up 20 per cent!" And inside stuff: "Do you know what *really* pushed Garry Wills over the brink?"

The official part of the proceedings, starting after dinner, also kept one eye on Washington. The theme of the conference was "The Philosophy of Law,"

and even the most theoretical of the papers drew excitement from the fact that—for the first time in living memory—we have as our President a man who is philosophically committed to the notion that government derives its powers from the people, rather than the people deriving their rights from the government. Hence a sense of urgency: we are no longer a voice crying in the wilderness. We have a positive duty both to learn from the President, and to lend him what help we may, whether theoretical support or practical suggestions.

THE FIRST papers laid the philosophical groundwork, with a discussion of natural law. Ralph McInerney (philosopher, medievalist, and mystery-novelist) explained that if you are going to argue from man's *nature* what he ought to do, you must first determine what that nature is. Philosophers throughout the ages have come to the conclusion that the function peculiar to man is "conscious, deliberate, rational activity"; to find out the good and strive to reach it, is the human distinction. Although human beings must sometimes compromise, natural law remains absolute: "Milton's Satan says, 'Evil, be thou my good'; but he cannot make it so."

But although it is absolute it is not stultifyingly uniform: "Human dignity resides precisely in the fact that we must each find our own way toward the good." This understanding of natural law is at bottom theistic, if only to the extent that it is the opposite of Sartre's "Man can have no nature because he has no maker." But that does not mean it's a distinctively religious truth—it is a truth accessible to anyone.

Ernest van den Haag offered a witty, entertaining rebuttal, which aimed at showing that "natural law" is indeed—if it is anything—divine law. The very existence of positive law, he claimed,

disproves the existence of natural law as such: if man follows his nature, then he will only do what is natural; and if positive law is derived from natural law, then it will only proscribe what is unnatural; but that means it will only proscribe actions that will not be performed anyway. In sum, "I can see many moral reasons why we should not do one thing or another; but I can't see that *nature* forbids it."

Mr. van den Haag's remained the minority view, however, as Roger Pilon and Edwin Vieira led off Saturday's papers with a discussion of the origin of our Constitution in natural-law and natural-rights theory. Mr. Pilon began by pointing out that a great deal of work has been done in recent years on the basis of rights—but most of it by our opponents. In the theory of rights as grounded in property that was first enunciated by John Locke, and given an up-to-date dress by Robert Nozick in his "entitlement theory," justice is historical. Modern egalitarians say justice is a matter of end states: Has equality been achieved? John Locke, Robert Nozick, and the Framers say it is a matter of process: if property was justly obtained in the first place, and justly transferred, then its current holding is just, no matter how unequalitarian. Rights thus involve property—property understood as our lives, our liberties, and our estates. Many other values are important ("the theory of rights is not the whole of ethics") but they may not be elevated into rights. Dave Stockman was exactly right when he said: "The idea that anything anyone might ever need is a right, is wrong."

Mr. Vieira, applying these principles to details of constitutional law, began by reminding us that the Framers saw history as "a history of the depravity of man," corrupted by "a fondness for power"—hence the elaborate system of checks and balances, that is now felt by some of our hot-eyed reformers as the "dead hand" of the past. They would prefer a "living Constitution"—a ludicrous notion, since the Framers' whole purpose was to protect Americans' rights  
(Continues on page 573)

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Miss Bridges is assistant managing editor of NATIONAL REVIEW. As of this writing, she has not left to join the Reagan Administration.

# The Perils of Poland.

## From the Continent

ERIK V. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

TWO IMPORTANT facts emerged with great clarity from the crisis in Poland: 1) there is a radical schism within the ruling Communist Party between members who are Poles first and Communists by convenience, and 2) there is a fairly grave antagonism between the more prudent leadership of Solidarity and the rank-and-file. That neither of these divisions led to an explosion was due to the presence in Poland on military maneuvers of "brotherly soldiers" from the USSR and the fear that they might extend "brotherly aid." As an old Polish joke has it: A foreigner asks a Pole whether he considers the Russians to be brothers or friends. "They're brothers," the Pole insists. "I'm surprised you think so," the stranger admits. "Why should you be?" replies the Pole. "Friends one can choose."

Foreigners seeking to understand events in Poland should also be aware of an historical difference between the southeast and the formerly German northwest. The recent open and frank discussion between the leadership of Solidarity and the rank-and-file took place in what was formerly the German city of Danzig (now Gdańsk). Cities like Danzig and Stettin in the north and northwest were the cradles of Solidarity; throughout the Seventies, they were the locus of the staunchest opposition to the Communist regime.

Now, these once German cities and the surrounding areas were substantially resettled after World War II by persons expelled from eastern Poland when the USSR annexed that region. A large segment of these new arrivals belonged to the nobility, the *szlachta*. This group must not be confused with the titled nobility of Western Europe, however: it included people of all classes (though leaning heavily toward free yeomen and gentry)—people of great personal pride. A *szlachcic* could be a farmer, a factory hand, or (though only rarely) a titled landowner, an officer, or a high civil servant. Thus many of the workers on the docks of Danzig and Stettin belong, despite their horny hands and unshaven chins, to the nobility of the old Commonwealth.

To such people, prudence is, to put it mildly, not the greatest virtue, and compromise, so cherished by post-Prot-

estant civilizations, is almost despicable. A German author, W. F. von Oertzen, significantly titled his book on the Poles *Everything or Nothing*. The title of a closely documented scholarly volume on the Warsaw uprising of 1944 is *Nothing but Honor*. The author of that work, J. K. Zawodny, participated in the rising and, though his tone is devoid of emotion, the account is moving to the point of tears. With no succor from Moscow, London, or Washington, this lone city fought heroically and without the slightest hope for 63 days, undergoing unspeakable suffering with unimaginable courage. The Poles cannot be measured by the rational rules of our "enlightened" mentality. Though the Polish Church is a genuine moral authority in the nation, it has great difficulty controlling the angry masses. The only hope I see for Poland at the present moment is a triumvirate of Church, army, and trade unions. Can such a triumvirate be forged, and would it last?

THE PROVERBIAL man from Mars, ignorant of the frightening record of Soviet rule, might pity the men in the Kremlin. What should they do about Poland? For them, the Polish case is very grave because, left to its own devices, Poland might provide a precedent and an example to other "people's democracies." It might encourage their oppressed working classes to rid themselves of their ruling Communist mafias. The events in Poland challenge the entire Marxist doctrine. How can the Soviet Union go on living with this situation right on its borders? If, for example, the Poles were to abolish censorship completely (the new unions have already won the right to broadcast statements on Polish television), then Polish broadcasts would become a greater menace to the USSR than any Western programs. The languages are too similar, especially Polish and Byelorussian, Polish and Ukrainian. The ruling Communist Party in Warsaw threatens the Soviet rulers and is itself caught between the devil and the deep.

Another major problem for the Poles is food. As we know, the East has never ceased to depend on the capitalist

Free World for aid of every imaginable sort—machinery, raw materials, military hardware, skills, money, and food. The current Polish economic crisis is primarily financial and agrarian. Prior to 1939, Poland was a great exporter of food. Polish farmers are still forced to sell choice foods (such as ham and geese) to the government for export. But though most farmers in Poland are free (unlike farmers in the Soviet Union), they cannot mechanize and modernize their holdings because their income is so low. Machinery and fertilizer are expensive, and they cannot get a fair price for their products because blue- and white-collar workers are paid so miserably. This vicious circle cannot be broken under socialism. (The seemingly different Soviet situation is very similar in its effects: at the beginning of this century the Russian Empire was the world's biggest grain exporter, but the USSR must now buy agricultural products abroad each time the harvest is below par.)

Still, the question remains whether the West should materially support Poland, a Soviet satellite. It is a question not easily answered. The humanitarian answer will be different from the political one, and the political one, in turn, can be given only after much study, soul-searching, and weighing of evidence.

Needless to say, the Poles as a people merit our greatest sympathy, and more than mere sympathy. They are a Christian people, and it is their Faith which has always given them superhuman courage. In 1768-1772, when their patriots fought against the Russians and their collaborators, the battle hymn of the Confederation of Bar began with the lines:

*We are not allied with kings  
And don't bow our heads to power  
But are under Christ's orders  
As servants of Mary.*

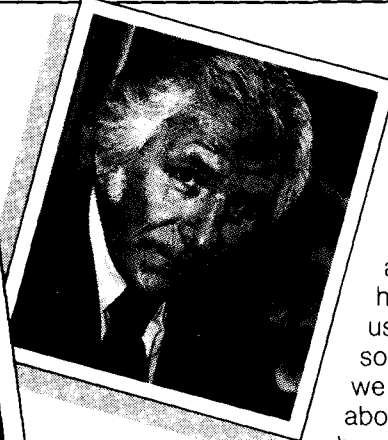
The leaders of the Confederation, in addition to Krasinski, were a father and son named Józef and Kazimierz. And the son was not only a Polish but an American national hero. He was the only general of the nascent United States who was killed in the War of Independence—Count Kazimierz Pulaszki. □

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# Books Arts & Manners

## An American Statesman

GERHART NIEMEYER

*For the Record, Selected Statements  
1977-1980*

By Henry Kissinger

Little, Brown, 332 pp., \$12.95

How is it that former Secretaries of State whose performance in office was, let us say, controversial can later attain a reputation for real and indisputable wisdom? Acheson, Rusk, and now Kissinger are cases in point. Hindsight, it is said, is always twenty-twenty, but that cannot be the whole explanation. I have another hypothesis: Americans in general are not given to thinking logically and systematically about foreign policy; the few who do that kind of thinking—e.g., the above-named—nevertheless often incline to put a gap between their own analysis and their choice of action, so that the action seems uninfluenced by, and sometimes opposed to, the analysis. This gap occurs when emotions take the place of thoughts. It is by no means universal in American life: American businessmen are capable of, and trained for, cool analysis; but in politics, a free-wheeling emotional factor is the rule rather than the exception. However, when former makers of policy are freed from the need to make public choices, they can afford to heed their intellects and begin to teach the rest of us.

Henry Kissinger is acknowledged to be a top-ranking statesman, not only in a national but in a world context. While he was in office he pursued the disastrous policy of detente, but once free to write, since 1977, he has produced works worthy of a first-rate intellect and established himself as a source of truth (to the extent to which "truth" applies to something like foreign policy). This book, a collection of addresses and interviews, would be a model textbook on foreign affairs. It succeeds in introducing the lucidity of order into the relation between principles and facts, the whole and the parts, the expedient and the moral.

Let us, starting from two cases, see what Kissinger is about. First: Why did our government fail to assess the situation in Iran and to anticipate the revolution? "The failure," writes Kissinger, "was less of intelligence than of a *conceptual apparatus*." (My emphasis.) Second: Why is it that Americans cannot

get rid of Cuban interference in Africa? Kissinger: "Because there is *no consensus of its significance*." (My emphasis.)

A "conceptual apparatus"—carried, or not carried, by "a consensus." That is how he perceives the task. The needed *concept* is first given a formal statement: It is the balance of power, defined as "a scope for action, a capacity to affect events and conditions." Into this



formal frame Kissinger injects the concrete historical circumstances: the ideological incompatibility of the Soviets and the West, together with the disproportionate destructiveness of nuclear weapons, the "political turmoil" in the Third World, an impending economic crisis, the energy problem. Here are the elements with which he can, in concrete terms, ring the changes on the main theme.

One related axiom should be mentioned: A balance of power requires fast action at the point when a rising danger is still ambiguous. Once it has developed to the point of certainty, the moment of prevention has passed. The French could have avoided the breakdown of the European balance of power if they had intervened when Hitler, defying the Treaty of Versailles, occupied the Rhineland in 1936. At that time, however, Hitler had not yet shown himself for what he really was. The French would have had to act on a hunch. Similarly, in Africa, in 1975: "Had we succeeded in Angola, there would have been no Ethiopia." But at the time when preventive action was still possible many would have raised grave doubts whether "this time and this place" really served our national interest. Thus "any nation has

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to make a choice between being psychologically certain and paying a heavy price if it turns out to be wrong, or being psychologically uncertain and paying a low price for taking the necessary precautions."

This does not mean that Kissinger is advocating decisions of a less than rational character; rather, in the words of a sign hanging in the body shop where my automobile gets its beauty-work done, he urges "precision guesswork." The guess has an element of precision precisely to the extent that it is informed by a *conceptual apparatus* embodying rational notions about the forces and conditions of the world. One such notion is that "the balancer of power is a kind of policeman, whose responsibility is to prevent peaceful countries from feeling impotent and aggressors from becoming reckless." In this role we need, among other concepts, a "concept of change to which moderate humane forces can rally," one that frees us from bowing helplessly to any violent commotion which in our eyes is wholly internal and which we therefore incline to surround with a false halo of inviolability.

A prime example of Kissinger's lucidity is his chapter entitled "The Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty II." The treaty, he says, must be evaluated not in isolation but in the context of the shift in actual arms balance brought about not by treaty but by our unilateral decisions first to favor a certain type of strategic arms, and then to cancel or delay the B-1 bomber, the MX ICBM, the Trident submarine and missile, and various kinds of cruise missiles. By contrast, after SALT I the Soviets not only did not slow down their strategic competition, they accelerated it.

Hence, not only have Soviet strategic forces gained superiority over our own, but, in addition, the original American advantage in theater-based forces has been revised to the point that "a Soviet superiority in theater-based striking power is at hand." This process was induced by one of those dark emotional factors intervening between cool analysis and practical choice—in this case, the feeling that our possession and deployment of formidable armed might had given just offense to the other side, and that therefore we would contribute to peace more by being vulnerable than by promoting our invulnerabilities.

Comments Kissinger: "Rarely in history has a nation so passively accepted such a radical change in the military balance." His honesty compels him to admit contritely that he had a share in this perversely "moral" quest for our own vulnerability. (One must also mention a corollary of this development which he fails to include in his confession: the so-called Sonnenfeldt Doctrine, which asserts that the Soviet Union would be more peaceful in measure as we favored and promoted the consolidation of its hold on its East European allies.)

Be that as it may the Kissinger of today is not the Kissinger of 1973-74. He now emphasizes that "the common stake in peace" offers no "common bond" between us and the Soviet Union; he accuses the Soviets of having conducted, since 1975, "an unprecedented assault on the international equilibrium," and concludes that this assault "must be ended if there is to be any prospect for East-West coexistence or cooperation." Thus, "linkage" of arms-control problems and geopolitical problems is imperative. As regards the arms-control prospect: "If we want equality, we must build up to equality." The treaties can do no more than reflect the actual conditions of balance or imbalance of nuclear weapons, both strategic and theater. Speaking of theater nuclear weapons, our failure to develop a theory concerning their use is another element in the weakening of our strategic capabilities which, left to do the whole job themselves, suffer from a widening credibility gap.

All these are problems of balance: not merely of balancing one type of weapon against a similar type on the other side, but of balancing strategic with theater capabilities, military agreements with geopolitical conduct, and legal limits with the determination to build. The conceptual apparatus must be developed to point up relevance, orient assessments, and facilitate judgments. It is all there, no more than sketched, but the sketch is complete.

Still, certain doubts linger, and parts of this book tend to deepen them. Kissinger himself points to the U.S. as a unique example of a nation that has passively permitted the depletion of its

means of defense. He also admits to having contributed to the school of thought which claimed to see sense in this nonsense. An inability to perceive nonsense derives from the emotions—such emotions as overwhelm human beings who are floating in what we may call a metaphysical vacuum. Kissinger shows us in this book the integrity of a logical, lucid, "penetrating and combining mind," to use Burke's phrase. I am not so confident that the emotions underlying it can be said to be equally reliable.

Included in this book, for example, is an astonishing eulogy of Nelson Rockefeller. One would expect, for a friend, more than the usual warmth, more than the standard praise. But even allowing for this, his words must be termed exaggerated. "His failure to reach the Presidency was, in my view, a tragedy for the country. What a great President he would have been. How he

would have ennobled us!" Or again: "When Nelson was relaxed, he did not speak about power but about love . . . it was the grace of the inwardly strong, an all-embracing feeling that only those who are truly at peace with themselves can dare to articulate." Here Kissinger manifests a lack of measure, an absence of a sense of limit which indicates wobbly emotions underneath the powerful mind.

OTHER doubts come to mind. The phrase "to build a world" recurs too often, for my taste, as does the slogan "peace and progress." My uneasiness was deepened when I read Kissinger's remarks on Iran in which he seems to give wholesale approbation to "modernity." One doubts that he has any real grasp of the conflicts which modernization induces as it clashes with the religious traditions of a settled culture. Yet a pertinent series of disturbed countries lies right before our eyes: Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India, Indonesia, China, Japan, countries which at best exist in a dimly perceived schizophrenia between modernity and tradition, and at worst constitute a people torn in half. Our own intelligence regarding these countries is flawed by our will to look upon modernizing tendencies alone as rational, as *real*, and to dismiss religious tra-



ditions as primitive, irrational, and contemptible. Our own modern hostility to religion here plays tricks on us.

Finally, one must mention Kissinger's hope of being able to "impose a code of conduct" on the Soviets, which eventually would make "real coexistence and cooperation" possible and give rise to "the creativity of a world in diversity." Now, Kissinger himself looks with scorn on "the so-called progressive [American] consensus [which] deals with almost every political crisis abroad by proposing a coalition government." It is ridiculous to propose "such a solution to factions who are killing each other precisely because they cannot agree on the minimum necessities for a political contest." In what way, one asks, is the idea of our "imposing a code of conduct" on the Soviet Union different from proposing coalition government to factions who no longer share basic values? The Soviet Union is ruled by people who throughout their lives have killed in themselves every vestige of the values they might once have held in common with other human beings. These leaders are in a permanent state of war even with the majority of their own subjects. They are unwilling to acknowledge any "code of conduct" other than "the interests of the class struggle" (as Lenin put it), which they consider identical with "the interests of the Soviet Union." One may erect obstacles in the path of their expansion, but one cannot educate such people to respect values which they have strenuously rejected all their lives.

While failings of this kind may ac-

count for the controversial performance of Kissinger as Secretary of State, they need not prevent our acknowledging without stint the stature of this thinker on foreign affairs, the first after Mahan to have risen among us. □

*Russia's Failed Revolutions: From the Decembrists to the Dissidents*  
By Adam B. Ulam

Basic Books, 453 pp., \$18.95

## NEVER FREEDOM

FRANCIS B. RANDALL

Adam Ulam directs the Russian Research Center at Harvard and writes excellent histories and biographies of revolutionary and Communist Russians. In this book he examines the basic question: Why have revolutionaries who for generations struggled and died to bring freedom to Russia usually failed even to overthrow the regime, and when they achieved that once, in March 1917, why did it lead only to an even worse tyranny under Communism?

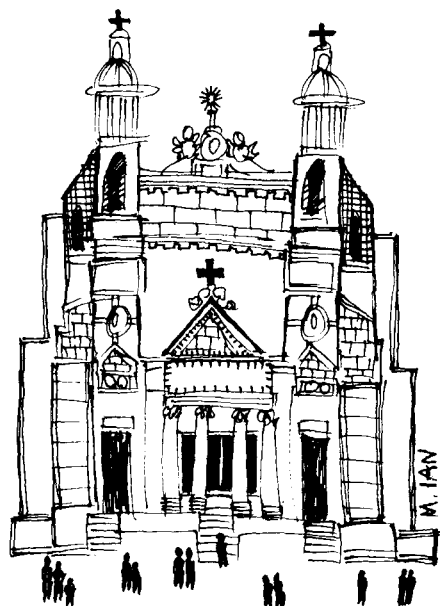
His answers are sensible and widely accepted: Russian governments have been more crushing than most others. The Russian people have no tradition of freedom and little concept of it. Russian regimes have usually been able to rally the Russian people in nationalist solidarity against breakaway minorities and foreign-sounding revolutionaries alike. Too many revolutionaries, true sons of Russia, have not really wanted freedom either; they have wanted to seize the state themselves and use it to force everyone to change in accordance with their own abstract ideological schemes. And in Russia, the many small accidents that determine history have usually broken against the cause of freedom—especially in 1917.

Professor Ulam knows that even these sound generalizations don't go far enough, and that the real story is in the complicated details. The solid value of his book is in the many vignettes of failed revolutionaries, examinations of their forgotten pamphlets, and quotations from memoirs illuminating important decisions behind the scenes. He gives us, justifiably, four separate narrative sections on his complex but unified theme: 1) The story of the tragically hesitant Russian-noble officers

whose "revolution" lasted for only four hours on December 14, 1825. 2) An account of the intense but self-defeating student revolutionaries of the 1860s and 1870s; after a few of them succeeded in murdering Czar Alexander II, they were finally suppressed. 3) A lengthy (three-fifths of the book) section on the frustrating, terrible, and mad events from the Revolution of 1905 to Lenin's Putsch in October 1917. 4) Comments on how Stalin was able to engage the whole Russian people in his horrors, and on the almost impossible task of this generation of Russian dissidents.

Professor Ulam rejects all notions of the mystical and unique character of the Russian people. What is responsible, he says, for the admittedly unique shape of Russian history is that the earlier Czars "gathered" a gigantic empire that was and is only half Great Russian, and built up a bureaucratic machine to govern it that was at once "too strong" for the liberties of its peoples and "too weak" in its hold on public opinion and habits to be able to allow any major degree of freedom without being overthrown. Whenever Russian revolutionaries made some headway in preaching European ideas of freedom among the Russian half of the population, the Poles and other subject peoples would use any quarter-freedoms the Czars (or commissars) conceded to revolt against Russia altogether. Then coercive Russian governments could win back the allegiance of the bulk of the Russians and suppress both the minorities and "disloyal" Russian dissenters. Another act of this terrible drama is being played out in Russia and Poland today—and under different circumstances in other countries, perhaps in Spain.

Professor Ulam knows what abstractions Lenin took from Marx, but he strongly insists that Lenin and the Bolshevik Party he created were in the native tradition of absolute, authoritarian, massive control and the transformation of people's lives from above. The Bolsheviks were "the most Russian" of the radical parties of Russia, both in their ethnic composition and in their devotion to total force. Ulam's point is important for Westerners who have fallen for the Communist line that Communism is Marxist. There is more than one evil in the world. The hostility-ridden foolishness of Marx had some influence on Communist thinking and feeling, but the totalitarian horrors of



Lenin and Stalin were authentic, home-grown products, rooted in seven hundred years of Russian history. It is exactly their Russianness that has kept most Russians from reacting effectively against them.

Professor Ulam is glad there are dissenting individuals in Russia now, but he doesn't think they have forged a movement yet, or that they have even become true revolutionaries. He is properly cautious about the future, but almost everything in this book leads us to be pessimistic. These Russians, too, who proclaim their desire for freedom so passionately, will probably not affect their country much. And if some of them should do so, they may bring many changes to Russia, but never freedom. □

### *The Centralist Tradition of Latin America*

By Claudio Véliz

Princeton, 355 pp., \$22.50;  
paperback, \$9.75

## THE CASTILIAN TRADITION

BRIGITTE BERGER

Claudio Véliz advances the intriguing proposition that, throughout their history, the countries of Latin America have been perceived through a foreign lens by men of affairs and by the intelligentsia—including, even, their own. Today as in the past, he argues, creeds, standards, and models that grew within the very specific context of an industrialized and modernized Western Europe are considered exemplary for Latin America as well. Such misguided assumptions, Véliz believes, have had severe and deleterious effects. No other major region of the world has changed as little as Latin America, despite the eloquent rhetoric of reform that has pervaded the tumultuous history of that area since its various nationalities obtained political independence. "Seldom," Véliz writes, "have so many well-publicized domestic revolutionaries and foreign prophets had so little to show for their Byronic efforts, and this despite the pseudo-academic clamor about shaky institutions, frustrated expectations, and the imminent danger of massive social

convulsions [unless] profound reforms are implemented."

Véliz proposes instead to understand Latin America's history of continued failure in the context of what he calls the "centralist disposition" of its peoples. The politics of Latin America, like the Spanish empire from which they sprang, had no feudal past; they evolved, instead, from a bureaucratic, centralist tradition of Castilian origin. Overlapping legal, military, and ecclesiastical jurisdictions were successfully integrated into one cohesive central administrative structure that dominated the affairs of Spanish America and Brazil for more than four hundred years; this structure survived independence and remains the central force in Latin America today. To be sure, it has been challenged, particularly in numerous efforts toward the development of trade and modernization, during what Véliz describes as "the liberal pause" of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the centralist style of politics has re-emerged virtually unscathed from such periods of liberaliza-

tion and decentralization. It continues to express itself in a variety of political forms: military dictatorships, liberal democracies, and revolutionary experiments in "social democracy."

Indeed, Véliz argues convincingly, this pervasive centralist disposition lies at the root of Latin America's failure to industrialize and modernize. This failure can in no way be attributed to the assumed evils of Spanish colonization, as legend would have it. (The legend did prove useful to Spain's powerful rivals, England and France, which managed, shortly after the Latin American countries achieved independence, to establish themselves firmly as precursors of today's multinationals in the economic affairs of these countries.) Rather, it was the centralist tradition, further bolstered by religious conformism (which reigned "cloudlessly in the sky of Latin America"), that prevented the emergence of those revolutionary forces of religious and social dissent that so dramatically altered the European firmament and gave vigor and cohesion to bourgeois capitalism.

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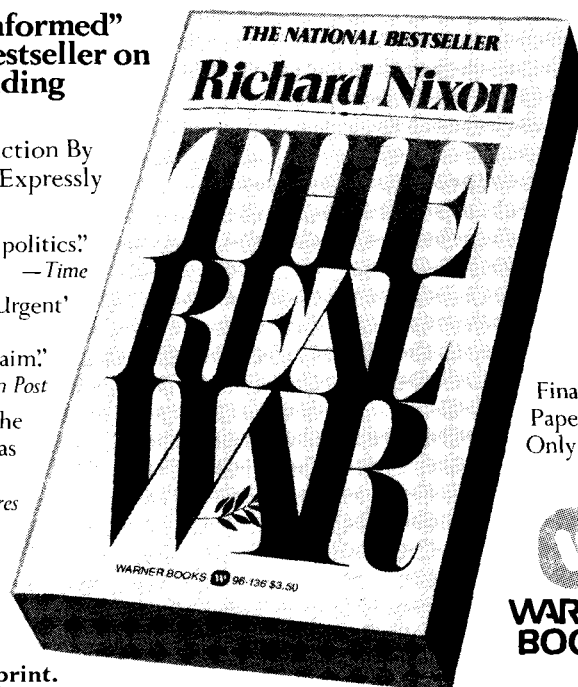
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## RANDOM NOTES

■ **MORE MAY TITLES:** Philip L. Fradkin's *A River No More: The Colorado River and the West* (Knopf, \$15.95) is an excellent study combining history, politics, sociology, and geology, and showing how all have contributed to the overtaxing of the greatest single resource of the American West. . . . *The Last Wilderness: A Journey across the Great Kalahari Desert* (Simon & Schuster, \$14.95), by Nicholas Luard, is a fascinating account of a safari across the great stone plateau of Botswana.

*Mary Boykin Chesnut: A Biography* (Louisiana, \$20), by Elizabeth Muhlenfeld, follows into publication C. Vann Woodward's edition of Mrs. Chesnut's diaries. Vann Woodward has written a Foreword to the Muhlenfeld book.

Rudolf Flesch's *Why Johnny Still Can't Read* (Harper & Row, \$10.95) is an update of his famous book published a quarter-century ago. Flesch argues that gim-

mickry and coverups are responsible for the continued failure of the public schools to produce literacy in their charges.

*The Secret That Exploded* (Random House, \$15.95), by Howard Morland, is an account of how the author took on the U.S. Government in the *Progressive* when that magazine published, in 1980, his article about the "H-bomb secret."

In *Governing America* (Simon & Schuster, \$16.95), Joseph Califano, who was Jimmy Carter's Secretary of HEW, attacks "institutionalized" special-interest groups which have appropriated unto themselves the federal bureaucracies and congressional committees. Califano should know, being himself one of the most assiduous practitioners of the business of using his business ties to make himself useful in Washington and his Washington ties to make himself useful in business. . . . The defeated liberal Republican senator from New York, Jacob Javits, slips further into history with the publication of *Javits: The Autobiography of a Public Man* (Houghton Mifflin, \$16.95), co-authored by Rafael Steinberg. —CW

new theory of the culture of Latin America. He introduces, of course, many questions requiring further study and attention, and the very distinctiveness of his argument will cause it to be challenged in many quarters. The theorists of political and economic dependency, in particular, who view the problems of Latin America as directly resulting from "monopoly capitalism" (with the United States as the chief villain), are likely to take umbrage at specific aspects of this kind of interpretation. However, Véliz's perspective will certainly influence every serious student of this "region of turmoil." □

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### *Economic Liberties and the Constitution*

By Bernard H. Siegan

Chicago, 383 pp., \$19.50

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## DEFERRED FREEDOM

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Few people today realize it, but the Ninth Amendment is a pivotal part of the Constitution. It is logically prior to the eight amendments that precede it.

"The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people."

In other words: the Bill of Rights doesn't pretend to be inclusive; it doesn't even imply that being mentioned in the text means that a given right is to be "preferred" above another, unmentioned right. If the right of free worship collides with a right to marry, say, the problem of which right takes precedence must be resolved in some other way than by asking which one is more directly endorsed by the Constitution.

This raises a further problem for judicial review. If Congress is inhibited in its lawmaking role by the Bill of Rights, and if the substance of the Bill of Rights includes rights that must be located outside the text of the Constitution itself—in natural law, perhaps, or common law—then it follows that the Supreme Court may properly strike down a law it deems in violation of an unenumerated right. If this is true, the real power of the judiciary branch should be greater than it is generally understood to be.

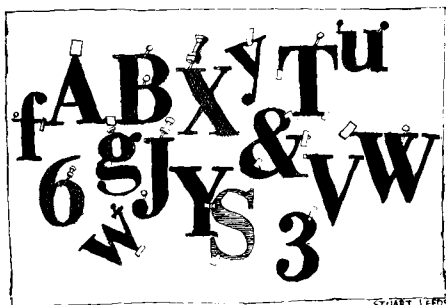
Modern large-scale industry came to Latin America through the operation of external forces; industrialization was not the consequence of the exertions of an industrial bourgeoisie, nor did it generate an industrial proletariat. It was the central state, and the central state alone, that "played the principal role in the Latin American process, either through timely political decisions or directly through channeling of resources into centrally controlled, sponsored, encouraged, or protected industrial ventures."

Urbanization pre-dated industrialization, and the splendid cities admired by Alexander von Humboldt as early as 1800 were, and are today, primarily the seat of central administrative bureaucracies, and the "natural habitat" of Latin America's artists and intelligentsia. "From top to bottom, these urban middle sectors viewed industrialization from a consumer's point of view," just as the very small segment of industrial workers saw in industrialization primarily a means of incorporating themselves into the folds of the centralist state.

The parasitic nature of Latin American urban culture is further accentuated by the sterility of its ideas and creeds. Today, as in the past, everything—political and economic models and pro-

grams, industrial technology, architecture, cultural styles, and popular taste—is imported from abroad. Even home-made revolutions win enthusiasm among Latin American intellectuals only after they have been rapturously received by the radical intelligentsia in Paris, London, and New York. In short, Véliz argues, the centralist tradition of Latin America has been devastating. And, he concludes, "It is improbable that the general disposition responsible for this in the past will change very much in the foreseeable future."

Needless to say, this schematic outline of *The Centralist Tradition of Latin America* cannot do justice to Claudio Véliz's extraordinarily rich, witty, and very readable book. Few scholars are as well equipped as he to pull together fascinating knowledge from very diverse disciplines and weave them into a broad



not less—a conclusion conservatives might especially shrink from.

But the conclusion seems to be true. And Bernard Siegan pursues its consequences boldly. What it comes to, he says, is that the pre-New Deal Courts were right in affirming the now-abandoned doctrine of substantive due process. In fact, he goes on, those who profess to deplore the doctrine have often smuggled it back in under other guises for their own purposes.

To be more specific, the Court in the 1965 *Griswold* case struck down a Connecticut law banning the sale of contraceptives because the law transgressed an unenumerated right of “privacy” which Justice William O. Douglas defined on the spot. Hugo Black, recognizing that Douglas was disingenuously reintroducing substantive due process, dissented sharply. The Court did the same thing again in 1973 when it struck down abortion laws in all fifty states: there was nothing *procedurally* wrong with those laws, according to the usual criteria of the anti-substantive jurists.

But since the New Deal—since 1941, really—the Supreme Court has officially rejected substantivism, which had earlier been invoked to strike down much liberal social and economic legislation that infringed the (unenumerated) right of contract. Why, then, has it come up with its own version of substantivism to promote contraception and abortion?

**B**ECAUSE, apparently, it *likes* contraception and abortion. In exposing the Court’s inconsistency, Siegan exposes its tendentiousness. Its objections to substantivism were really its objections to the free market. In a recent issue of *Commentary*, Herman Belz has pointed out that the post-New Deal Court has been just as open as its predecessors to the charge of voting class interests, namely those of the “new class,” though friendly liberal historians haven’t been disposed to level the charge.

The recent Court, Siegan adds, has been as capricious as the earlier ones. But its caprice doesn’t consist solely in its “activism”: even more profoundly, it has been guilty of *abdication*. Under the pretext of rejecting substantive due process, it has refused to submit liberal socioeconomic legislation to the constitutional test: Does it violate the rights

of liberty and property? As a result, economic liberties and property rights have been seriously eroded with no resistance from the branch of government most directly responsible for protecting those rights and liberties against legislative violation. In short, the recent Court hasn’t been activist *enough*.

**M**UCH of *Economic Liberties and the Constitution* is devoted to restoring our sense of just how much weight attached to the phrase “life, liberty, or property” in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments’ due process clauses. The Framers agreed that one of the principal aims of government, and of the Constitution, of course, was to defend property. Men who held property ownership a qualification for voting were hardly Proudhonite in their outlook. *Pace* Garry Wills, they were good Lockceans.

Siegan also makes a powerful general case for economic liberty, on both historical and more strictly empirical grounds. And he argues that the role of the judiciary is, finally, to protect *all* liberty, including the economic liberties it has so badly neglected. He draws a basic distinction between the legislative and judicial roles:

The difference between the two branches is fundamental; it lies in function. The legislature is the protector of the governor and the judiciary of the governee. The legislature equates the public interest with the creation of laws; the judiciary, with the preservation of liberty. Each must look to its constituency in the exercise of its responsibility. However, finality under our system must be with the branch of government charged with safeguarding liberty.

This is so because “by its nature public power increases while the individual eternally requires protection.”

Siegan calls on the Court to resume the defense of economic liberties. He offers five basic reasons. 1) “Judicial review of social and economic legislation is firmly rooted in the Constitution.” 2) “The judiciary has no authority to eliminate constitutional protection for economic liberties.” 3) “Because much welfare and regulatory legislation has proved economically harmful, judicial review of such legislation serves the pragmatic interests of society.” 4) “Because of its limitations and infirmities, the legislature should not be the final authority in socioeconomic matters.” 5) “The policy of judicial withdrawal from review of

socioeconomic legislation is not coherent or principled.”

Let’s be a little more cynical. In the last few decades, the Court and Congress have implicitly cut a neat little deal with each other. The Court has agreed to let Congress run roughshod over economic liberties in ways that allow it to buy votes; Congress has allowed the Court, in return, to do the dirty work of the liberal agenda in the areas of pornography, abortion, busing, affirmative action, and so forth. This deal has enhanced the power of both parties while minimizing the political risks to each.

Siegan has done a brilliant piece of work, not only where it was badly needed, but where the need had hardly been recognized until he addressed it. If his book gets the attention it deserves, economic freedom will find itself strengthened considerably from an unexpected quarter. □

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### *Reforming Government*

By Daniel F. Feldman

Morrow, 228 pp., \$11.95

## A BUREAUCRAT IS BORN

ALAN L. MILLER

The eminent historian Richard Hofstadter once observed that the noble intention of reform was inevitably frustrated by those resourceful enough to evade its desired effect. Simply stated, no sooner do the crusaders lock the front door than the rascals sneak in the back way.

Thus it falls to the idealist to launch Quixotic assaults against the windmills of avarice, his sole reward to be the knowledge of a job well done. For Daniel Feldman, however, there have been several more tangible gains. Were it not for the investigative skills that he developed while serving as an assistant to former Congressman Elizabeth Holtzman, the young attorney might never have made the political connections which gained him public office.

The cynicism of that conclusion is quite intentional. For one senses that this is a young hustler on the prowl. In his senior year at Columbia, Feldman

parlayed a Sloan Foundation Fellowship into a minor role in Mayor Lindsay's administration. Here he made contact with the intense Miss Holtzman, who was running the city's parks division and envisioning her own elective destiny. As Lindsay's star was beginning to fade, Miss Holtzman won local office in Brooklyn, which was but a step along the way to her successful congressional race. Feldman was perceptive enough to hitch his wagon to both campaigns and was even emboldened to make a run for city office himself. After two unsuccessful tries, he returned to the safety of running Miss Holtzman's congressional district office in Brooklyn as a paid staffer.

**H**E PROCEEDED from constituent case-work to becoming the Congressman's full-time investigator of a federal food program. His success in exposing local corruption in school lunch distribution solidified Miss Holtzman's status in the House Judiciary Committee, where, two years earlier, she had gained national notoriety as a dogged pursuer of President Nixon during the televised hearings on Watergate.

The fallout from her celebrity rebounded to Feldman's benefit. He was invited to serve as counsel for the newly created Subcommittee on City Management. This investigative adjunct of the New York State Assembly was charged with monitoring the Big Apple's \$13.5-billion annual budget. From the modest beginnings of a tiny office, one part-time researcher, and a yearly budget of \$20,000, Feldman moved into high gear. So successful was he in uncovering a wide range of municipal malfeasance that his superiors enlarged the investigative scope. Now Feldman would be advising the Committee on Legislative Oversight and Investigation.

Full committee status brought the counselor grander quarters, a larger budget, a full-time staff of five, and, most important, an ambitious committee chairman, Assemblyman Charles Schumer, who understood well the nexus between publicity and political progress. Thus Feldman was unleashed. No stranger to the call of career advancement, he seized this mandate eagerly; as he notes in the volume under review, this meant that no longer would his range depend "entirely upon the whim of an individual legislator." Now his

raiders could strike in all directions with the knowledge that they "were harnessing the political ambition of a young legislator to the cause of investigation and reform," giving him "far more incentive to use his committee to go for the headlines which can expedite reform." Not to mention the glory that would accrue to the reformers.

Such was the genesis of this wan book. The publisher informs us that it is a practical handbook detailing case-work which led to the exposure of public betrayal, thus resulting in better government. We are promised "winning strategies against waste, corruption, and mismanagement." Instead, the reader is treated to the tangy insights that government officials often mislead in seeking to cover their mistakes but can be embarrassed by the glare of public exposure. Or, bad publicity can hurt them and aid the reformer, who must always remember that the press is but a means to an end.

Apart from the discovery of 16,000 sandwiches stashed in a Brooklyn vacant lot and an asphalt scam that cost the city \$5 million in overcharges, *Reforming Government* is mostly a series of whimpers in search of a bang. The most intriguing revelation is that Feldman won the Assembly seat vacated by Schumer, who was defeated in seeking Miss Holtzman's congressional seat while she was losing her race for the U.S. Senate! The irony of this musical-chairmanship will be exceeded only by the continued ascendance of Daniel Feldman. Here is the modern political success story. □

## DELECTATIONS

### THE MASTERS

#### NIKA HAZELTON

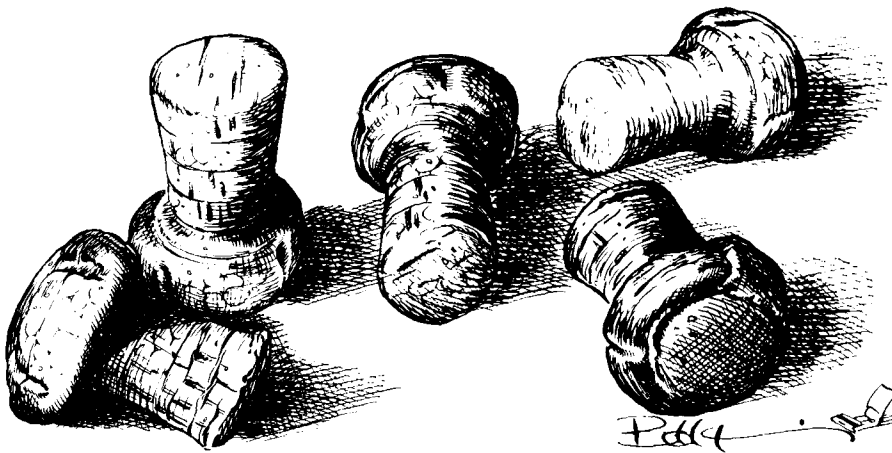
Recently, 130 members of Les Maitres Cuisiniers de France and their ladies, including world-famous culinary luminaries such as Paul Bocuse, Michel Guérard, and Alain Chapel, whose establishments have collectively garnered 180 Michelin stars, turned up in Manhattan at the start of a nationwide tour sponsored by Mumm champagne. If you consider that each Maitre Cuisi-

nier is also the owner of the restaurant in which he practices his art, Voyage Mumm 1981's reasons for sponsoring the trip are not at all puzzling.

The chefs (18 three-star, 38 two-star, and fifty one-star) held their annual meeting in New York on March 22, together with their American Maitre Cuisinier colleagues, led by André Soltner of Lutèce (still and without a doubt New York's greatest monument to fine and costly eating in the grand manner). Mr. Soltner—who is president of the American chapter of the organization, which includes Maitres Cuisiniers from all over the United States—organized for the visitors a series of bashes of the very highest class. I was privileged to attend one of these events—a dinner at the Tavern on the Green in Central Park (a restaurant whose *renommé* lies rather in its situation than in its food and service, as many of us know to our sorrow). But not so on this night, when it presented a truly unforgettable dinner.

**T**HE HOSTS of the dinner were quasi-chef Craig Claiborne and ex-chef Pierre Franey, both of the *New York Times*, and their idea for the meal was both simple and brilliant: a series of buffets, each devoted to a particular group of American regional specialties. They included the American Delicatessen Buffet, with roast beef, corned beef, pastrami, and lox, bagels, and cream cheese; a splendid Western Barbecue, with the best ribs and enchiladas I ever ate; and Creole Magic, provided by New Orleans's master chef Paul Prudhomme, whose restaurant, K-Paul's Louisiana Kitchen, no visitor to New Orleans should miss. I seldom wax lyrical over food (though I often do over wine) but his jambalaya and crawfish étouffée are unforgettable.

The Maitres Cuisiniers (all in black tie) and their ladies were not shy about digging into the food. What impressed them most—and never have I seen Frenchmen so impressed—was the Seafood Bar, with its seven different kinds of oysters, three kinds of clams, stone crabs, red snapper seiviche, and shrimp, all served amidst ice sculptures in an abundance that made them gasp. It was obvious that none of the Maitres Cuisiniers had ever before been offered all the oysters he could eat—that in fact they had never seen so many different



kinds of oysters in one place. How they ate and ate and ate, with Mumm Cordon Rouge flowing like a river! It was indeed a heart-warming sight. Nor was the Seafood Bar the only first course offered: oysters Rockefeller, Maryland crabcakes, smoked salmon, clams casino, and Smithfield ham also astounded the Maitres. I spoke with several of them: they could not get over the variety and quality of dishes that, as they admitted freely, they had always thought of as poor American trash. And they kept on repeating: *C'est si abundant!*

The menu card was equally splendid, describing the dishes both in English and in French. Let me just quote the French introduction to the fish found in American waters: *Notre pays aime beaucoup le poisson. Les étangs tranquilles, les rivières tumultueuses, les océans étincelants, offrent la promesse séduisante du poisson frais, pêché, préparé, et mis sur la table comme les poissons américains choisis ce soir.*

The speeches by Alain de Gunzburg, chairman of Mumm, and Stephen E. Herbits, president of Brown Vintners, who import Mumm, were short and full of praise of the Maitres. To everybody's surprise, Craig Claiborne's French was not as fluent as his admiration for *la cuisine de France*, but Pierre Franey slipped easily back into the role of *bon camarade* of the talented French guests.

I asked Mr. Soltner about how you get to be a Maitre Cuisinier de France. Mr. Soltner explained that you must be a chef-proprietor, have worked in the kitchen for twenty years, have collected eighty points for your experience and expertise, and have two sponsors. In other words, your colleagues must know you and your work. But do not confuse

being a Maitre Cuisinier de France with being a Meilleur Ouvrier de France. This latter title is conferred, like the Légion d'Honneur, by the French government, and the recipient must be French, or have worked either in France or for France. His emoluments are a diploma, a Tricolore tie, and a medal that is engraved on one side *Meilleur Ouvrier de France* and on the other *Joie et Travail*. In the Maitre Cuisinier game, this will get you forty points and guarantee that you will eventually attain the stature of Maitre. □

## THE SCENE

### GROUP TAX AND RELATED ORGIES

JOHN KEEFAUVER

It was a slow night in the middle of the week when my neighbors decided to hold an income-tax orgy. We had all been reading about the form-swapping and group-tax parties that many suburbanites have been throwing, when Sweetbread Monroe said, "Why don't we have an orgy, too? We're all suburbanites, and not one of us has ever done anything to swing. I feel left out."

Some of us laughed at Sweetbread, but we all admitted that what she said made sense. We didn't know of a suburb anywhere, with the exception of our own, that didn't have orgies. We'd all seen the articles in newspapers and magazines discussing the wild new trends

in tax preparation, and we had a gnawing feeling that there was something missing from our lives.

"We could use our house," said Henry Littlefinger. He and Tillie-Jean have the largest study in the neighborhood, in which there is a table big enough to swap forms on. Their home was a natural for an orgy.

"What about the kids?" asked Sweetbread. "We can't hold an orgy unless someone takes care of the kids."

"We could hire sitters," I suggested. I really couldn't see taking children to a thing like this.

"Nonsense," said Tillie-Jean. "If these kids are going to learn about life, they should come to our orgy. Of course, we won't let them work on the forms."

"I don't think they should even see one," said Sweetbread. "At their age, they might get used to them. And you know what that would lead to—trying them themselves."

"But if they're not going to see our forms we'll have to hide them, and the whole purpose of group orgies is to bring everything out in the open," said Henry.

"Maybe we could just let them play with some W-2s," I said.

"I don't know about your kids," said Tillie-Jean, "but if ours start playing with W-2s it can only lead to one thing—the 1040A. Then the next thing you know they'll want to experiment with the long form."

"Well, we've promised Junior a short form for his 21st birthday," said Sweetbread, "and in return he's promised faithfully to be a good dependent until he's officially an adult."

"I think the best thing to do is to let them do something in their own group before we have our orgy," she went on. "Like homework. Then while we're swinging with our forms they can play. Maybe afterward we can have some father-son and mother-daughter softball games."

"A fine orgy this is going to be, playing softball with the kids," I told them. "I thought the whole idea was to have unrestrained group tax, running amuck through the neighborhood and swapping forms."

"Well, I like that," Sweetbread said indignantly. "Just let someone suggest an orgy, and the only thing Dirty Mind over there can think about is money." □

## BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE CONSERVATIVE DECADE: *Emerging Leaders of the 1980s*, by James C. Roberts, Foreword by Ronald Reagan (Arlington House, 340 pp., \$14.95). Is it possible to be both young and conservative? Until recently, conventional wisdom would have denied it. Young people, almost by definition, were liberal and Democratic, or worse. But in this important new book, James C. Roberts points out that the carnage and destruction wreaked upon America by the New Left in the late 1960s only temporarily submerged what had been a growing conservatism among American youth—a conservatism that saw the birth of the Young Americans for Freedom in 1960 and was instrumental in obtaining the Republican nomination for Barry Goldwater four years later. Roberts, 35, came of age during that troubled period, when conservatism was hardly the most popular ideology on America's campuses. He and most of the others he describes in his book abstained from the wave of riots, strikes, and sit-ins that swept America in the late 1960s and concentrated on getting their education. Hence, when the New Left fractured and disintegrated and liberalism was discredited, these young people were ready with their conservative principles to offer as an alternative. America responded with the triumphant election of Ronald Reagan and the return of the Senate to Republican control for the first time in a quarter-century. *The Conservative Decade* is a grand tour of the various publications, direct-mail enterprises, foundations, organizations, and law firms that have been founded to advance conservatism; almost all of which are headed, or

at least substantially staffed, by people under forty. The only quarrel I have with the book is that it is just a little too quick with praise of such borderline types as the Moral Majority and Richard Viguerie and Co. *The Conservative Decade* is a superb introduction to a major force in American politics. It is indispensable for anyone who wants to know more about people on whom President Reagan can be confidently expected to rely heavily in the years to come.

JOHN A. BARNES

THE FALL OF SHANGHAI, by Noel Barber (Coward, McCann, 248 pp., \$10.95). Mrs. Gladys Hawkings knew the Nationalists had had it when she looked out the window one night and saw a Communist soldier staring back through the glass. It was 1949, and Mao's men swarmed across the Yangtze to overrun China's trade capital, Shanghai, virtually unopposed. Foreigners like Mrs. Hawkings, whose husband ran a shipping firm, stood by, bemused. Shanghai had weathered many political storms; they guessed that this time too the rhetoric would change, but business would go on as usual. For a few weeks it did. But then Communist cells formed, and managers found themselves locked in their offices, hostages to wage demands they considered ridiculous. The grey sack became standard dress, and the papers carried confessions of the rehabilitated. Restaurants and nightclubs shut down, deprived of patrons by a curfew and laws against prostitution, but most of all by a grim asceticism that infected the city like a virus. The distraught leapt off skyscrapers on the Bund or drowned themselves in the river. In the old days, trucks had gone through the city every morning picking up the dead; but the problem then was starva-

tion. Now it was that, plus something deeper. The vitality that had inspired even the starving, so that death came against their will, was gone. To many, death was preferable to the sort of life the revolution brought. Noel Barber vividly contrasts the two Shanghais, alternating between memories of European expatriates and movements of the Maoist horde, a Tolstoyan approach that lends breadth even to a work so short. The writing is of the Sunday-feature-page variety. In places it is clogged with adjectives and goes breathless with manufactured enthusiasm. But better that way than dull. Barber is careful to tread the political middle ground. He portrays the Nationalists as corrupt and cowardly and the Communists as doctrinaire and murderous—a policy of equal dislike. When he speaks admiringly, it is to praise the Nationalists for the freedom they allowed, the Communists for their sympathy for the poor. But he prefers that readers avoid taking sides, and he rations his admiration accordingly. He wants them to look at Shanghai wide-eyed, like Mrs. Hawkings.

PAUL T. HORNAK

THE MEN WHO INVENTED BROADWAY: *Damon Runyon, Walter Winchell, & Their World*, by John Mosedale (Marek, 321 pp., \$15). Here we have the whole panoply of New York journalism from the turn of the century through the 1940s, with reporters, editors, and publishers alike sharing the light as well as taking their lumps. Most of the characters are on stage too briefly, and some are barely mentioned. But Mosedale, a CBS News writer, is less interested in detail than in spectacle. He has chosen the right period, certainly, for it has spawned hundreds of memoirs and social histories similar to this one. At the center of his book are Damon Runyon and Walter Winchell, the one a gifted reporter and short-story writer, the other the premier gossip columnist of his time, holder of so much "power" as to be the Johnny Carson of his day. Despite Mosedale's attempts—he is an amiable author—Winchell comes off as a bore, while, as always, the appetite for Runyon is only whetted. Although this book is unlikely to spark any revival, Runyon seems undeservedly neglected today. Runyon might well be an acquired taste in fiction, but his journalism was of the first chop. Mosedale, however, makes no pretense to literary criticism in *The Men Who Invented Broadway*; his purpose is to illuminate the landscape, not guide the reader through it. He reprints a lot of familiar material, tells a few new anecdotes, reproduces a few photographs. He is as careful and enthusiastic as a museum curator showing his collection. It may not be much, but he does it very well.

JOE MYSAK



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# Dark Horses



CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

IN 1977 THE *Chicago Tribune* invited Carol Felsenthal, a local journalist, to review Phyllis Schlafly's new book, *The Power of the Positive Woman*. She accepted the assignment, and wrote a scathing article. The resulting barrage of hate mail from Schlafly-lovers first astounded, then intrigued, her. Ultimately, she worked through her curiosity by writing a biography of the woman American feminists love to call an Aunt Tom and a "witch."

*The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority: The Biography of Phyllis Schlafly* (Doubleday, \$13.95) tries hard to avoid sounding like the work of a convert—if not to the hive, then to its Queen Bee—but it is difficult to tell whether the reluctance is genuine or simulated. It seems implausible that someone of Mrs. Felsenthal's background could agree with Mrs. Schlafly's opinions on so many subjects, and yet whatever glimmers of criticism and irony the reader occasionally perceives are so distantly implied that one can't say whether they are there at all. Perhaps one isn't supposed to.

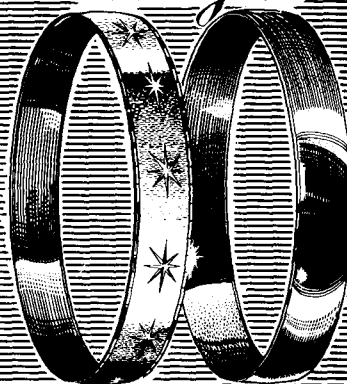
Mrs. Felsenthal has the tacky style of a syndicated Sunday supplement. Nevertheless, she is 1,000 per cent successful at dispelling the prevalent (among liberals, anyhow) notion that Phyllis Schlafly is "a slightly more serious version of Marabel Morgan." The Sweetheart of the Silent Majority will never be a regular in *The Public Interest* or *Commentary*, yet her mind, however provincial its frame, is as hard as adamant, as competent as dynamite. Mrs. Felsenthal has included some marvelous exchanges between her subject and enemies like Betty Friedan, Barbara Walters, and Eleanor Smeal of NOW.

Mrs. Schlafly, of course, is best known for her whirlwind campaign, STOP ERA, which Mrs. Felsenthal deals with interestingly. (I had not been aware just how hard President and Mrs. Carter lobbied the legislatures of states that had not ratified the ERA, nor how effectively Mrs. Schlafly fought them—stressing that the process by which an

amendment is ratified is constitutionally a legislative one, requiring no interference from the Executive branch.) Actually, she was a latecomer to the fray, who, when a friend urged her in 1971 to attack ERA, didn't even know which side she was on. "How about a debate on national defense?" she asked. (The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, holding hearings in the fall of 1979 on the SALT II treaties, learned the strength of her grasp of strategic and nuclear-technical issues.)

RICHARD A. VIGUERIE'S *The New Right—We're Ready to Lead* (Caroline House, \$8.95) is full of good news, for Old Right and Neo-Right, as well as for New Right. Just as Carol Felsenthal notes that suddenly Phyllis Schlafly's opinions are the contemporary coinage, Viguerie cites a recent Gallup poll showing that 49 per cent of Americans consider themselves right of center. Liberalism is dying, he says, because it says "No" to everything. When liberals say you can't turn the clock back, what they are really saying is that "we shouldn't try to correct their mistakes." He describes the flashpoints of disillusionment—taxes, amorality, the war against the family—and the organizational means by which the New Right has sought politically to combat all this. The Republican Party can't do it, he says: "We're ready to lead." Here, though, he is on dubious ground. How can a movement stand in for a party? He is perhaps on weaker ground still in calling Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority "our greatest asset." A very interesting study, by Ernest Raab and Seymour Martin Lipset, printed in the *March Commentary*, argues that the Born Again Christian Movement, while conservative culturally, is not necessarily conservative politically. And Viguerie's book is not enhanced by the introduction, where Falwell argues that "we find America depraved, decadent, and demoralized today." Has he been borrowing speeches from the Reverend William Sloane Coffin? □

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## BROOKHISER

(Continued from page 556)

that the American Navy is “dominant” in its newest area of responsibility, the Indian Ocean, despite logistical problems: Diego Garcia, our only base there, is still as far from the Strait of Hormuz as Norfolk is from the Azores; it takes 18 tons of airplane fuel to fly in one ton of cargo.

The South Atlantic is a looming problem. Sixty per cent of Europe’s oil imports (and 40 per cent of ours) go around the Cape of Good Hope. If SWAPO gets Namibia, look for the Anthony Lewis column urging that the South African enclave of Walvis Bay be thrown in to sweeten the deal (my prediction, not the Admiral’s).

And always, numbers: ours, the Soviets’. In 1968, the Atlantic fleet had 514 ships. Now it has 278 (the quarantine of Cuba during the missile crisis took 274). The last Carter budget, since revised, allowed for fewer new naval aircraft than those lost in accidents. In fleet air defense, the Soviets are “clearly ahead.” Their surface-to-air missile travels six times the speed of sound, and has a range of one hundred miles; our Terrier flies at Mach 2.5, range, forty miles. Our anti-submarine capabilities and our carriers are better.

What it all adds up to, in the Navy’s estimation, is that “we’re no longer in a position to say we have any margin,” and so they have told Congress. The Navy is still confident that it can fulfill its three major tasks in the event of a war—supplying Europe; securing the Mediterranean; supporting Norway and securing the Norwegian Sea, thus preventing a flanking movement from the North—but it has resigned itself to fulfilling them serially, not simultaneously.

A layman on a brief trip cannot hope to judge the criticisms of the military reformers, or the Navy’s strategies. Both the Navy and the Army (along with the rest of NATO) seem to be preparing, in the worst case, for a major war in Europe without the copious use of nuclear weapons. Is this preparing for the last war, that notorious habit of general staffs? Are the Navy’s critics preparing for the war after next, that less notorious but equally typical habit of “military experts”?

While the debate goes on—and it must go on—half a dozen medium-sized airports make their way over the empty swells. □

## BRIDGES

(Continued from page 559)

from the majoritarian caprices of the moment. What we must strive for, said Mr. Vieira, "is equality in liberty, not equality in property."

Lunch was followed by an address by newly elected Senator John East of North Carolina (sometimes referred to as "Jesse Helms's Jesse Helms," or "the conscience of Jesse Helms"). Even the most hard-headed practical politician must not eschew political theory, said Senator East: "If the political philosophy is correct, the details will take care of themselves," but if one concentrates solely on detail, one loses sight of the principles one is supposed to be acting toward—and, as any newcomer to Washington quickly learns, "our nation's capital is awash in detail." Thus we suffer a tremendous abuse of language, with equality reduced to leveling, freedom and rights reduced to "the politics of egotism," economics reduced to quantification, and foreign policy totally lacking in "an appreciation of power." This all stems from a "theoretical illiteracy" that our academicians—and our politicians—need to combat if our victory of last November is to be anything more than a brief aberration.

**N**EXT, Arthur Shenfield and Dwight Murphey took up in detail a question Mr. Vieira had raised in passing: "Is the Constitution a 'Living Document'?" Mr. Shenfield warned that we must be aware that our system of government is dependent upon the will of the people. If the people want the Constitution changed, "it must change or it must break." However, "that doesn't mean that the guardians of the Constitution need be the aiders and abettors of its destruction. They may have to go down in flames with it." It's fashionable nowadays to say the Framers were eighteenth century men employing eighteenth century doctrines, which cannot meet the needs of the twentieth century. But in fact, our Constitution, and the rest of our legal system, offers timeless solutions, if only our judges would seek for them. However, too many of our actual judges are seeking only "justice," not "justice according to law."

Mr. Murphey then gave this point a practical application: What in particular can we hope for from a Reagan Court—for, as he said, "This Reagan

revolution—I hope it's all right to call it that here—permits us to consider questions of philosophical and practical policy that could not have been considered a few years ago."

Modern conservatives are in something of a bind here. We, and our philosophical ancestors, have leaned strongly toward judicial restraint and "strict constructionism." But to continue to do so now would be merely to ratify and solidify the efforts of the New Deal Fair Deal New Frontier Great Society.

Hence the Reagan Court must be radical in the best sense—"reconstituting the Constitution." While remembering that "a so-called activist course need not be a reckless one," it should refuse to just stamp *stare decisis* on the Warren Court (and even the Burger Court) decisions; instead, with every case it hears, it must go back to older precedents and to the Constitution itself.

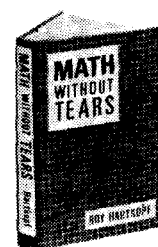
Speaking of areas the Federal Government, through the courts, has usurped from the states, Walter Berns and Bruce Hafen, in the final papers, turned to "Law and the Family": at once the most specific topic at the conference, and one of the broadest, since it includes basic matters of traditional law which, as Mr. Berns explained, pre-date the Constitution, and which the Constitution does not presume to touch. For the Constitution, while giving certain powers to the new Federal Government, left virtually the whole apparatus of civil law to the states. But now, through the rampant increase in the use of judicial review, family life is being "nationalized"—all those older prerogatives of states are being taken over by the Federal Government under the guise of the First Amendment, viewed through the Fourteenth.

Bruce Hafen added to this the insight that the courts have been aided in applying their new egalitarian preferences by an unexamined shift in the burden of proof. A variant of "innocent until proven guilty" used to be held, by the judicial branch, to apply to the acts of the legislative branch: unless injustice could be proven, states were held to have the right to make their own laws. But the civil-rights movement changed all that, and the courts took unto themselves the right to strike down any law that could not be proven pure of racist intent. Now in matters of public morality as well the burden is shifting "from those who would challenge a traditional

position to those who would maintain it." Shifting that burden back again will be the highest priority of the Reagan Court.

And so ended the official portion of the 17th annual meeting of the Philadelphia Society. The unofficial portion was no less concerned with the priorities of the new Administration. As members and guests were dispersing at O'Hare, one of the Washington crew said to another: "Say hi to the boss for me!" The other people on the airport bus may not have known who The Boss is; but we knew. □

## MATH WITHOUT TEARS



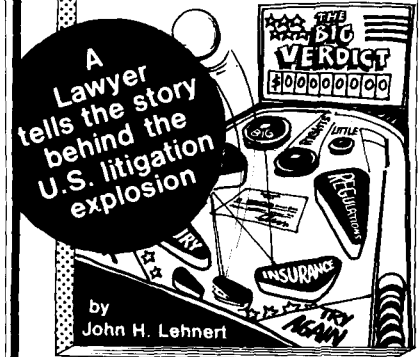
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## Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

WALTER TROHAN:

### Political Animals

I was the first man on the scene of carnage. . . . Other staffers joined me in tracing . . . the story of the slaying of six members of the . . . Moran mob, rivals of the . . . Capone gang. I topped off the St. Valentine's Day murders by attending an all-star performance of *Macbeth*. The massacre was no more than a fitting prelude to the ten violent deaths in *Macbeth*. (Samuel Pepys, in his *Diary*, mentions a similar experience, except that the play was *Hamlet*.)

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## The Reign in Spain

# On The Right

Seville, April 19—At a little kiosk near the park is a child's mechanical rocking horse. You insert 25 pesetas, and for ten minutes your little boy or girl rocks around the clock, gasping with pleasure while holding on hard to the little wood extuberances that serve as bridles, while the child's feet rest on stirrups adjustable to the length of his legs. As the horse bounces about, your eyes focus behind the child at the windowpane of the kiosk. A magazine is held open by clothespins. It depicts, six inches from the child's head, in photographic detail, acts of male homosexuals.

A few minutes earlier, the cardinal of Seville, officiating at Mass on Holy Thursday at the great cathedral, addressed a reverential mass of people. Seated directly in front of the cardinal, a few yards removed from the steps to the altar, is the mayor of Seville. And directly behind him is Calvo-Sotelo, the prime minister of Spain. They are listening to the cardinal's words, but the mind almost necessarily wanders. The kiosk outside is in the same town whose antecedent primate, the famed and feared Segura, died 25 years ago shortly after pronouncing excommunication on anyone—man, woman, married, unmarried—who danced. A pious people, the Andalusians; but a few weeks after the death of His Eminence, a tourist guide, answering a question from an American about what was it like in Seville with the cardinal dead, answered: "When Cardinal Segura died, he, and we, passed on into a better world."

THE differences between then and now flash through the mind of the worshippers, who that night would not, most of them, go to their beds until after seven in the morning, since the long evening would be given over to marching in one or more of the many processions, along with huge, elaborate gilded, silvered floats bearing thousands of candles, weighing up to four thousand pounds, carrying statues of the Virgin, images of Christ and his tormentors, released from their sanctuaries in neighborhood churches to wander through the crowded streets of the city during the holy days. They would stop every hundred yards—the men who bore the weight could not go further without pausing—and from time to time they would be greeted by a lone voice, male or female, rising up from

the crowd, singing out devotional chants in the strangled, erotic, minor mode of the flamenco singers. Three, four, five minutes of silence from the crowd while the singer, deserting his profane art, turned his talent to the service of God.

And when they would sit down, finally, to eat, at two or three or four in the morning, the conversation would turn to politics. Turn, specifically, to the great trauma of February 23. No historical event in Spanish history since the civil war has had a greater impact upon the Spanish people. Suddenly, viewing on television one army officer, machine gun in hand, holding the parliament at bay, they recognized that the changes are perhaps disordered: something on the order of hysteresis, a lag that follows an effective cause. From zero political freedom to freedom for Communists, and something less than effective repression of terrorism. From unquestioned national unity, to separatism in the north. From suspicion of normal heterosexual dancing in Seville, to open displays of perversion, literally in the line of sight of children.

Everyone has his theory of things. One (highly popular) is that the king himself, recognizing that the social and political trajectory could not go on without creating disorder, obliquely and contingently colluded with the generals. A second has it that precisely because the king was the clear and present abortifacient of the revolution, the king (next time) would be the first to go: either by assassination (less likely), or exile or confinement (more likely). Others say that Calvo-Sotelo has, maximum, three months during which to "imponerse" (hard to translate: so to speak,

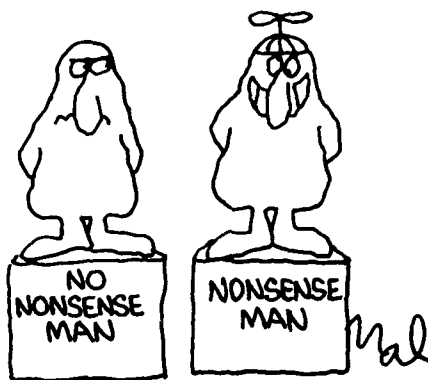
to become the dominant figure); otherwise, incipient chaos, and back to the generals. The position on the generals is ambivalent. Say what you like about Franco, the Spanish people—those of them who were willing to let their political appetites hibernate—did well. They prospered economically—all classes of Spaniards. And the peace was longer under Franco than at any time in Spanish history. Forty years of relative prosperity, peace, and independence are, for many Spaniards, a wistfully attractive substitute for political, social, and moral anarchy. □

### ABOUT NIKPAK

New York, April 28—Have you noticed lately on television the treatment of John T. Dolan's National Conservative Political Action Committee, pronounced Nikpak? The announcer typically begins by referring to Nikpak as an "outside" force attempting to interfere in local politics by amassing galleons-full of foreign gold to do in Senator Spendthrift, or Congressman Maecenas. Flash to the relevant elected official, who will say something on the order of, "Ah inten' to continue to fiyt foh mah peepul as long as ah represents them in Congress." What's wrong with that story is a) the people who sent our victim to Congress are mostly unaware of what he is doing for them, or rather to them; and b) as often as not, the congressman will indeed change his voting habits if he feels the heat, as why shouldn't he?

Let us begin by exploring the proposition that Congressman James Jones—to take one of the three most recent targets of Nikpak—is a concern only of his own congressional constituency in Oklahoma. Now even if it were so, Nikpak would have a role to play. Let us assume that what Mr. Jones voted for affected only the people of Oklahoma. Is there anything undesirable in advising those voters what in fact Mr. Jones is up to? Isn't this a public service?

But of course Mr. Jones's decisions don't affect merely his own constituency. Congress, which is constitutionally at liberty to organize itself, sees fit to make him the chairman of the House Budget Committee, and as such he has huge power over such questions as whether the United



States will continue to suffer from inflation. A concern for inflation is as much the business of residents of Oregon and Maine as of Oklahoma, and since one of the principal agents of inflation resides in Oklahoma, voters from Maine and Oregon are free to do one of two things: emigrate to Oklahoma, qualify as voters, and vote against Jim Jones; or send money to Nikpak to be used to advise the voters of Oklahoma what it is they are doing to the rest of the country. If the voters nevertheless elect to send Mr. Jones back to Congress, there is nothing Oregon, Maine, Nikpak, or even the *New York Times* can do about it. *Fiat voluntas sua*.

Or take Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland. The National Taxpayers Union, after close research, has identified him as having voted for more money-spending bills than any other senator in Washington. To be sure, Senator Sarbanes achieved this eminence only because Senator Kennedy was out of town campaigning, and was therefore unable to cast his vote for inflation. But there he stands, a first-term senator, acting as though money were as easily collected as seawater: and there is Nikpak, determined to tell the voters of Maryland what they don't know. How do we know that they don't know?

Let us but count the ways. An extraordinary statistic Nikpak comes up with reveals that in almost every state in which the organization exerts itself, there are more people subscribing to Nikpak's policies than there are voters who voted for the incumbent. And this should not surprise us. Ask the same voters who voted for Kennedy or Sarbanes or Jones or other big-spenders, and you will predictably hear from them the ritual condemnation of inflation. What they have not done is the necessary thinking to connect the two data. One cannot responsibly oppose inflation, and recommend high deficit spending. Such recommendations can only be made by economists attempting homeopathic sleights-of-hand of the kind that first made Keynes famous, then infamous. But such as Kennedy and Sarbanes are not economists. They are merely big-spenders.

**W**E NEED to examine the sources of this inhospitality to purveyors of the record. I can understand indignation over an organization that falsifies a record, or distorts it. But it is difficult to understand why a Ralph Nader, who believes in circulating everywhere in America the shortcomings of a single manufacturer in a single state, should take umbrage at the circulation everywhere in America of the voting record of individuals who write our economic destiny.

John "Terry" Dolan, Nikpak's head, is

both philosophical and shrewd. He says simply that, if the voters are informed, but want in any event to go with a particular candidate, why let them do so. Shrewd, too, in divining that the general furor results less from the circulation of information by Nikpak than by its ideological predisposition. How many people have denounced the labor unions' political action committees, or those representing civil rights, or ecology, or the interests of education, or of the aged? Everyone involved in mankind is also affected by inflation. I vote three cheers for Nikpak, and trust that in due course Mr. Irving Kristol will come along with two cheers for Nikpak. □

## GROWING UP ABSURD

*New York, April 22—* I have been traveling about colleges, and remit information and impressions of general interest.

College A. The university in question has a considerable enrollment, and it transpires that it is an Open Admissions institution. That means that in order to gain admission it is required only that you produce a high-school diploma.

"I was disappointed," I said to a professor later in the evening, in isolated circumstances, "that there weren't any black students at the lecture."

"They won't come out in any numbers other than for Jesse Jackson or Coretta King. They comprise 20 per cent of the college population. At least the same percentage of white students are as listless. I would guess that half the blacks and half the lower quintile whites can't a) add fractions, or b) read a newspaper."

"You're kidding."

"I am not kidding."

"How do they pass their exams?"

"They don't. But the administration doesn't expel them, because to do so means one less body against which to claim the annual subsidy from the state capitol."

"So what happens to them?"

"They are put on probation. It isn't easy for a student here to know what the difference is between being on probation and not being on probation. Life goes on exactly as before. After about two and a half years they have to weed out. The student leaves, and he's mad at the college, mad at his teachers, mad at the state, and probably mad at the truck-driving firm that gives him a job."

College B. An informal situation, before the main event. Question period. A student asks whether the state isn't "wrong" in exercising such powers as were exercised e.g. by Franco and Allende to maintain power.

I answer: States are amoral institutions.

In a "state" inheres the authority to preserve itself. My sympathies, obviously, are with George Washington, but if the British had captured George Washington, tried him for treason, and hanged him, no one would with any historical or philosophical justification have had a case against the behavior of the Brits who hanged the Father of Our Country. "A state exercises power with the same authority whether the state is governed by Pericles or Caligula."

Big Scene, following the episode above recounted. Woman reporter approaches speaker:

"Just where do you get off mentioning 'Caligula' and 'Pericles' when talking to college students?"

"Excuse me, ma'am?"

Repeats question.

"I was talking to fifty seniors in a college that ranks among the top twenty in the United States. Just what is your point?"

"My point is that there is no reason whatever for you to suppose that these students have ever heard of Caligula or Pericles."

—For want of another formulation: "You must be kidding."

"I am not kidding."

"I don't believe you."

"Would you like me to go out and ask?"

"Yes. But before you do that, wait one minute. Let's assume that these college seniors did once know that Pericles was a famous Athenian general, that he became the ruler of Athens, was widely regarded for the grandness of his rule, indeed giving rise to the designation, 'The Age of Pericles.' And can we grant, that even before the *Penthouse* people made a grisly movie about the Emperor Caligula, he was known as a sadistic maniac, as well known as Nero—who is surely well known if only because we can't think who else fiddled while Rome burned? And anyway, in a rhetorical formulation in which the speaker is clearly reaching for antipodes, he needn't depend absolutely on a student's precise knowledge of history to be satisfied that if he speaks such a sentence as, 'irrespective of whether you're talking about Adolf Hitler or Florence Nightingale,' the student will know that one of the above characters was a bad guy, one a good guy, and will probably guess by the rhetorical accents of the speaker, which was which?"

The lady went out with paper and pencil to establish how many students knew the difference between Pericles and Caligula. A few minutes later she sent word that her score was, so far, four out of four—who didn't know the difference.

I don't believe it. But if it's true, shall we all just agree—fatalistically—to give it all up? □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

# Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

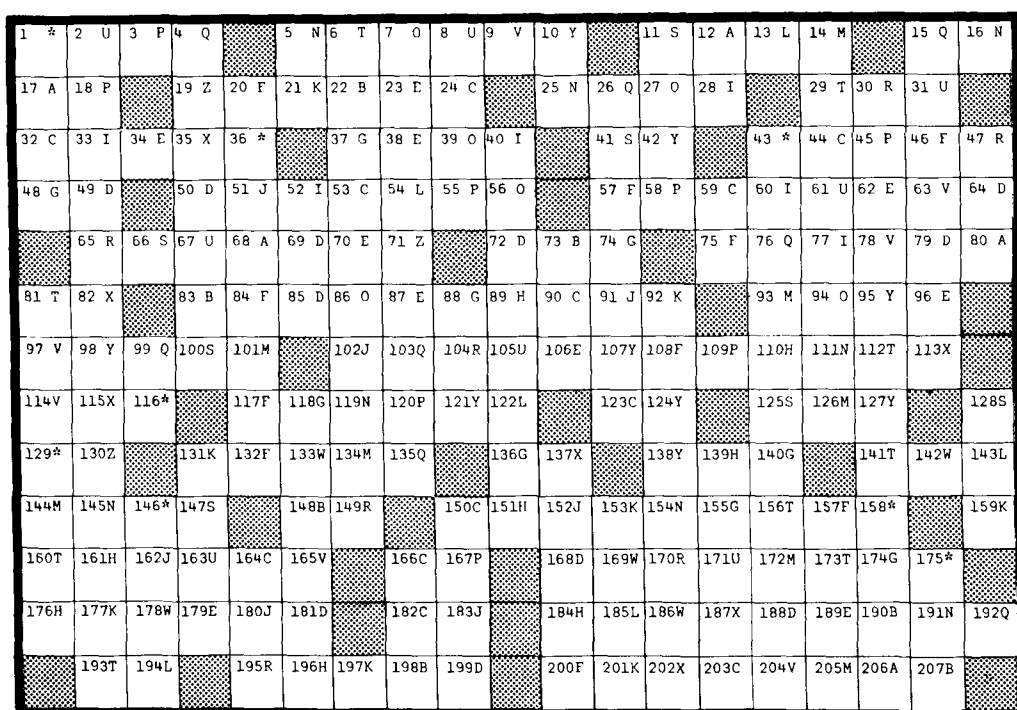
## DEFINITIONS

- |                                                                               |                                              |                                                             |                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| A. What taxpayers have had a bellyful of                                      | 17 12 68 80 206                              | M. People who play games                                    | 126 172 134 101 14 205 144 93   |
| B. A little devil's trace                                                     | 22 190 83 207 198 73 148                     | N. A yes-man's alter ego?                                   | 145 111 25 5 16 119 191 154     |
| C. What a charge they've made!                                                | 32 44 24 53 123 182 59 90 203 166<br>150 164 | O. Aggregate                                                | 7 86 94 27 39 56                |
| D. Government tries to do everything but what it is supposed to do, maintain: | 64 168 50 72 79 181 188 199 49 69<br>85      | P. A female who looks after children                        | 167 55 109 18 45 3 58 120 200   |
| E. A type of bus or train                                                     | 87 23 62 96 106 179 189 34 38 70             | Q. To fit skillfully to form a whole                        | 192 26 99 4 135 76 103 15       |
| F. To belong as a rightful part                                               | 108 57 75 84 46 117 20 132 157               | R. Something which everybody smokes, directly or indirectly | 195 149 104 30 47 65 170        |
| G. A method of communication devised by an artist-inventor                    | 155 174 118 88 48 37 136 74 140              | S. A follower of a certain English philosopher (1588-1679)  | 11 66 41 125 100 147 128        |
| H. How Elia must have felt occasionally                                       | 176 139 151 161 184 110 89 196               | T. Native of an ancient nation in Africa                    | 29 6 160 156 193 141 173 81 112 |
| I. An obnoxious person                                                        | 28 33 40 52 60 77                            | U. HORN RENT (anagram)                                      | 67 2 31 8 163 105 171 61        |
| J. An American naval officer who fought at Battle of Lake Erie (1782-1845)    | 183 102 180 51 91 152 162                    | V. Otagia                                                   | 78 63 165 114 97 204 9          |
| K. YEAR WHEN (anagram)                                                        | 201 92 21 159 177 153 131 197                | W. A Swedish actress (b. 1905)                              | 133 142 186 169 178             |
| L. To exercise authority                                                      | 122 54 13 185 143 194                        | X. Certain drumbeats                                        | 115 202 137 187 82 35 113       |
|                                                                               |                                              | Y. Unguents                                                 | 124 98 121 107 95 42 127 138 10 |
|                                                                               |                                              | Z. French for one of the compass points                     | 130 19 71                       |
|                                                                               |                                              | * The Confederate vice president                            | 1 146 116 43 129 158 175 36     |

## DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition*.

See page 574 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.



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But we do. And we have proof.

The proof is called the Millitron.<sup>TM</sup> It injects dye into carpeting. And for the last 5 years, it's been producing a running line of up to 519 patterned carpets.

That number might not impress you. But the quality of the Millitron's art surely will. The patterns are clean and beautiful, with pinpoint definition.

No matter what fiber is being used.

And since the Millitron is computer-controlled, it can change from one pattern to another in a matter of seconds. So whichever pattern you order, you can be certain that it will be readily available.

The Millitron art exhibit is now on display. You can see it at your Milliken dealer. And remember, whatever image you want on your floors, Milliken will create it.



# TWA redefines First Class



## Introducing Royal Ambassador Service<sup>SM</sup>

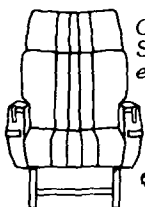
In First Class, good is not good enough. The very least you should expect is excellence.

That said, we present a First Class service which we believe not only meets that standard, but sets it.

Royal Ambassador Service, from TWA.

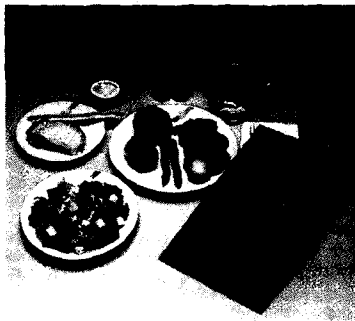
### A better class of seat.

Our seats, for one, are more comfortable than ever. (Not surprising. They've been redesigned with that in mind.)



Our new 747 Sleeper-Seat reclines farther than ever before.

We've installed brand new Sleeper-Seats<sup>SM</sup> in our 747's as well—seats which recline farther than ever. So naturally, falling asleep in one is simpler than ever.



### An appeal to one's good taste.

The food will come as a rather pleasant surprise.

On international flights, for example, there's American caviar. Chateaubriand with sauce

*perigeaux*. Lobster Thermidor. Vintage wines from California and France. Liqueurs, cognacs, cordials, and more.

Nor does the service fall short of what's being served.

It's personal, unhurried and, like our silver, highly polished.

### A check-in area and a lounge to call your own.

In most airports, there's a special Royal Ambassador desk to speed you through check-in and a special lounge for transatlantic passengers to relax in before the flight.

So call your travel agent, corporate travel department or TWA. And experience for yourself one of the finer things in flight.

Royal Ambassador Service, from TWA.

You're going to like us

**TWA**

Royal Ambassador Service is available on every transatlantic and transcontinental route we fly as well as selected shorter domestic flights.